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ABSTRACT

An interdisciplinary course on women and identity for college-level women's studies instructors is presented. Materials for the course are taken from myth, psychology, sociology, feminism, art, and other disciplines. It is divided into seven units: sexuality, fertility, work and family, fear and envy, women's networks, individuality, and social change. Students explore the mythical origins of negative sexual stereotypes, lesbianism, bisexuality, heterosexuality, virginity, the cult of the Mother Goddess, new methods and philosophies of birth control, child rearing, and parenting. Work and family topics include the family in the United States, single-headed families, childlessness, and women in the contemporary labor force. Women's networks are discussed from historical, anthropological, and sociological perspectives. The chapter entitled "Women and Social Change" covers participation in social movements throughout history, matriarchy, matrilineality, and new awareness and self. Each unit contains an introduction, lecture outline, discussion topics, reading list, questions, and a bibliography. Appendices include questions on Simone de Beauvoir's theory of reciprocal need oppression, processes in sex role learning, useful statistics, and a course evaluation form. (KC)

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WOMEN AND IDENTITY

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WOMEN'S STUDIES CURRICULUM SERIES

WOMEN'S STUDIES CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

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1978

Preface

The Women's Studies Curriculum Series consists of four interdisciplinary courses: Women and Identity, Women's Art and Culture, A Cross Cultural Study of Women, and New Women, New World: The American Experience. Addressed to teachers of Women's Studies in American colleges, community colleges, and universities, the courses provide both a conceptual framework and the resource materials necessary for the study of women in each subject area. Introductory remarks define the goals of each course and the main ideas of individual units; lecture outlines (or lecture topics) describe in skeletal form the specific points to be covered in class; annotated bibliographic materials (including films, slides, records, etc.) suggest resources for students and teachers; questions for discussion pose central issues which may be discussed in class or shaped into paper topics or exam questions. Each course deliberately provides more material than would ordinarily be covered in one semester so that teachers may select and adapt the materials to suit the needs of their students.

We envision many uses for the Series. First, the courses were specifically designed to fill the curricular gap between the now widely taught introductory courses in Women's Studies (commonly, a broadly interdisciplinary treatment of issues affecting the lives of women) and the more narrow specialized research seminar. Each course considers its subject from the perspective of at least two disciplines, and ideally should be team taught. The Series may also provide resources for teachers wishing to add material on women to courses in the traditional curriculum. For example, a teacher of Chinese History might adopt materials from the "Women in China" unit of A Cross Cultural Study of Women; teachers of courses ranging from Art History to Home Economics will find Women's Art and Culture a valuable resource; the extensive bibliography in New Woman, New World: The American Experience should be useful to all. Moreover, the four courses in the Series complement and clarify each other, and may be used in combination. For example, several of the courses briefly consider the subject of matriarchy; the teacher wishing to develop a full unit on this topic might compare these treatments, and then consult A Cross Cultural Study of Women for a lengthier analysis. Both Women and Identity and New Woman, New World: The American Experience consider women's role in social change, while Women's Art and Culture includes a section on art as social protest; thus a full unit on women and social change would include materials from several courses. Finally, the Series offers a solid curricular base for a college or university's newly founded Women's Studies program, as well as the means to enrich and update the curricular offerings of well established programs.

The courses in the Series try to teach students to think critically about the complex historical, political, social, psychological, and aesthetic questions raised by the new scholarship on women. We believe that scholarship, perhaps especially that which derives from humanistic study, illumines and at best can transform the lives of people. Since Women's Studies scholars and teachers know that scholarly evidence need not be divorced from the truth of personal experience, whenever possible we suggest ways for students to connect their study with their lives. Perhaps most important, we recognize that good teachers teach good courses; we rely on your energy and talent to bring these courses to life.

Acknowledgments

The impetus for what became the Women's Studies Curriculum Development Project came from Professor Louise Tilly in her first year as Director of The University of Michigan Women's Studies Program. Funded by grant number EH2-5643-76-772 from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the project brought together a group of Women's Studies scholars and teachers from colleges, community colleges, and universities in Southern Michigan for a weekly Research on Women Seminar. The Seminar examined the new scholarship on women in the various disciplines in order to determine how it could best be integrated into the Women's Studies classroom. Task forces of seminar members, representing Eastern Michigan University, Central Michigan University, Western Michigan University, Schoolcraft College, and The University of Michigan then cooperatively designed the courses.

I would like to thank the members of the Research on Women Seminar, particularly those from distant colleges and universities who made the weekly trek to Ann Arbor through the historic snows of the Winter of 1977. I am especially grateful to the core group of task force members for creating coherent courses out of complex and varied materials. Thanks also go to the Office of the Dean of the College of Literature, Science and the Arts, The University of Michigan, for providing initial funding and office space for the project; to Marti Martell, of the University of Michigan Women's Studies Program, for assisting in preparation of these materials; to Anita Clos, for her faithful assistance throughout the Women's Studies Curriculum Development Project; and to the National Endowment for the Humanities, whose views are not necessarily represented by the findings and conclusions presented here.

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WOMEN AND IDENTITY

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WOMEN AND IDENTITY

Introduction[1]

The purpose of this course is to explore what it means to be a woman. Since women have been defined by and often have accepted the definitions of a male-dominated society, this exploration is no simple task. If we study psychology or literature or anthropology as these subjects are usually taught, we find no meaningful definition of women. A world view created by men is reflected in both the content and methods of these disciplines. It is necessary, therefore, to examine the mainstream work creatively and critically, juxtaposing it with feminist thought and the real experience of women (including teacher and student). We must first recognize the prevalent definition of woman as "other" or "object" and then come to a fuller understanding of woman's identity. Is there a uniquely female mode of being which is different from the ways in which we have been defined by others? What is it? What constraints derive from our being female rather than "typically feminine" or "cross sex-typed?"

The course is organized around themes (rather than disciplines) which are relevant to women. Within each theme, materials from several disciplines (e.g., myth, psychology, sociology, feminism, art, etc.) will be brought to bear on the question of how the theme is pertinent to women's identity. Since there is more material in each unit than could be covered in a one-semester course, it is up to the instructor and students to choose among the available material, to emphasize or de-emphasize parts of a unit or a unit as a whole. Each unit contains a bibliography (especially important if the teacher lacks expertise in a certain area), a statement about the unit, lecture outlines, and discussion questions. Since there is far more good material than can be assigned in any one unit, readings which are especially recommended for students are indicated. The additional readings might be divided among the students who could report on them to the rest of the class. Additional readings may be suggested by the teacher from the bibliography.

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[1] We would like to acknowledge the help of Bill McGee, Ethel Klein, Lydia Kleiner, Jacque Parsons, Marie Richmond-Abbott and Susan Weisskopf for providing resources helpful in the preparation of this course.

In a one-semster course on Women and Identity we have found that the teacher needs to choose a theme which will bring together the materials from the seven sections. For example, one might focus on the theme of women's individuality versus her participation in networks, on the theme of motherhood as it is examined throughout these materials, or on another pattern that the teacher finds here. We encourage teachers to shape a unified course out of these materials. Students will not easily see the patterns which unify these diverse materials without guidance from the teacher.

Although grading format and class projects are determined by the teacher (hopefully with the help of the students), one project suggested here is especially consistent with a feminist approach to research, and could well be the central project for the course. We recommend having the students write their own autobiographies and/or self descriptions at the beginning of the term, before they read about how others have defined and described them. Then, each student should interview two women in order to get life histories and self-descriptive data; thus the class as a whole will have a wealth of material to work with. The class should determine the age distribution they want (e.g., each student could interview one woman of her own age and one older woman) and decide upon a set of common questions that everyone should ask. After the interviews, the class should decide how to organize and present the data for everyone's use. Finally, each student should use the data to elaborate on one of the units or themes discussed during the term: to support or refute the literature, to interpret it creatively.

Another assignment that has worked well in this course is to again ask students to write an autobiography. The teacher then meets with each student to discuss the paper, and helps the student to shape a research project out of the issues and themes brought to light in the autobiography.

A final note. The course as a whole does not adequately address the complex situation of black or other minority women, nor does it fully explore the interaction of racism and sexism. We are pleased to learn that The Feminist Press plans to bring out a collection entitled Black Women's Studies.

UNIT I. Sexuality

Introduction

Too often a woman's identity has been defined solely in terms of her sexuality. Our culture has seen woman either as a totally sexual being with no other identity, or as a completely nonsexual person. Both extremes have been scorned--the whore, the easy lady, the hot bitch, versus the old maid, the spinster school marm, the frigid bitch. The only way to escape these categories was to become a "carrier of the species," i.e., someone's mother.

The first purpose of this section is to explore the origin of these stereotypes and categories, focusing on areas which seem to have special impact on how people view women today. The study of mythology is especially rich in providing insight into the images of women in other cultures, images which recur persistently. Jewish and Christian religious attitudes toward the sexuality of women are also major influences.

The second purpose is to examine and analyze the ways in which women today are redefining their own sexuality. The pattern of redefinition involves accepting sexuality as enriching and joyous, but seeing it as only one part of the multitudinous identity of woman.

Within the lecture outline we have included bibliographical information relevant to each section. The readings form the basis for lecture and discussion topics which immediately follow. A full bibliography is given at the end of the unit.

Lecture Outline

This section discusses how women's sexuality is defined by others, and how we define our own sexuality.

I. Ancient myths.
   A. Mother goddess myths
      1. Astarte/Aphrodite and Adonis. See Ovid's Metamorphosis 10:298-559; 708-39.
      2. Cybele and Attis. Frazier, Sir James. The Golden Bough pp. 329ff.
      3. Ishtar and Tammuz. See the Epic of Gilgamesh.
   B. Specialized Erotic Goddesses
      1. Aphrodite/Venus. (Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite in Homeric Hymns, edited by Thelma Sargent. Net myth in the Odyssey. 8:266-366).
      2. Norse goddesses--Nethus, Gefjon, and Freyja (especially the myth of Freyja, the necklace and the dwarfs. See the New Larousse Encyclopedia of Mythology, edited by Robert Graves. New York: Prometheus Press, 1968, p. 273).
      3. Hathor--Egyptian.
      4. Discussion of Greek goddesses as either being totally sexual or having no sexual activities at all. Pomeroy, pp. 7-10.
   C. Other erotic myths
      1. Cupid and Psyche, Oedipus, Theseus and Ariadne, Aeneas and Dido.
      2. Classical Greek Attitudes to Sexual Behavior (see article by same name by K.J. Dover in Arethusa 6.1, Spring 1973).
      3. Malinowski--sexual habits of savages.

4. Temple "prostitution"in the Near East.
5. The myth of Hermaphroditus. Ovid's Met. 4.284-388.
6. Native American sexual customs. Neithammer, pp. 213-215. and the myth "A Snake Comes Courting" p. 64 in Neithammer.
7. Sex under Compulsion: Leda, Europa, Daphne, Cassandra, Briseis.

II. Denial, Repression and Oppression of Sexuality

A. Jewish and Christian Attitudes Towards Sex.

The following readings will form the basis for lecture and discussion topics listed below.

Readings:

Bailey, D. Sherwin. Sexual Relations in Christian Thought. New York: Harper, 1959.

Burlage, Dorothy D. "Judaeo-Christian Influences on Female Sexuality." in Sexist Religion in the Church: No More Silence! edited by Alice L. Hageman. New York: Association Press, 1974.

Cole, Graham William. "The Early Church" in Readings in Human Sexuality edited by Wilson, S.T. Roe, R.L. and Autrey, L.E. St. Paul: West, 1975.

Datan, Nancy. "Astarte, Moses and Mary: Perspectives on the Sexual Dialectic in Canaanite, Judaic and Christian Tradition."

Phipps, William E. Was Jesus Married? New York: Harper, 1970.

Stanton, Elizabeth Cady. The Woman's Bible. New York: European Publishing Company, 1895-98.

Stendhal, Krister. The Bible and the Role of Women: A Case Study in Hermeneutics. Translated by E.J. Sander. Philadelphia; Fortress Press, 1966.

McCarthy, Mary. Memories of a Catholic Girlhood. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1957.

Reuther, Rosemary Radford. Religion and Sexism. Images of Women in the Jewish and Christian Traditions. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974.

Discussion Topics:

1. Judaeo-Christian tradition as foundation of laws on sex.
2. Subservient roles of women in family patterns in the Old Testament.
3. Women as more intensely subjected to and involved with religious teaching on sex. Women as target of sexual laws of the Church--the double standard.
4. Limitation of sexual expression to procreation.
5. Women as unclean beings. The Pauline texts as anti-sex and anti-marriage.
6. The Early Church fathers.

B. Virginity and the Cult of Mary

Readings:

Boslooper, Thomas David. The Virgin Birth. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962.

Ochs, Carol. "The Cult of Mary" in Behind the Sex of God. Beacon Press, 1977.

Miegge, Giovanni. The Virgin Mary.

Daly, Mary. Beyond God the Father: Toward a Philosophy of Women's Liberation. Boston: Beacon Press, 1973.

Discussion Topics:

1. The Mother Goddess as non-virgin.
2. Virginity among the Greek Olympiad. (Hera and Aphrodite renewing their virginity in the sea. Confusion of Indo-Europeans concerning Mother Goddess figures who were not permanently tied to one man, and who they therefore assumed must be virgins.)
3. Virginity and the concept of private property. Legitimacy and land inheritance.
4. Chastity Belts and other devices. The display of the bed linen. Virginity in the Middle Ages.
5. The Cult of Mary as a survival of Mother Goddess worship.

6. Mary and virginity in the Christian Church--see "The Concept of Virginity"

7. Virginity in the 20th century. Pornographic images. Moon and stars images. The double standard.

C. The Victorians

Readings:

Tavris and Offir, pp. 62-63.

Vicinus, M. Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victorian Age. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973. Introduction, Chapters 3, 7 and 8.

Degler, Carl N. "What Ought to be and What Was: Women's Sexuality in the 19th Century." American Historical Review. 79:1467-90.

Marcus, Steven. The Other Victorians: A Study of Sexuality and Pornography in Mid 19th Century England. NY: Basic Books, 1966.

Haller, John S. The Physician and Sexuality in Victorian America. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970.

Discussion Topics:

1. Unnatural practices--what were they?
2. Church and scientific pronouncements concerning what was allowable sexually.
3. Women as sexual beings.
   a. the myth of no pleasure.
   b. the consequences of open sexual activity for women.
4. Repercussions of repression.
   a. pornography.
   b. prostitution and venereal disease.
   c. exploitation of working class women (especially domestics) by upper class men.
   d. wide-spread ignorance.
5. Discussion of how much sexual activity occurred despite these societal strictures (see Degler).

III. Psychological theories: studies and speculation on the nature of women's sexuality.

A. Freud, Jung, Reich

Readings:

Juliet Mitchell. Psychoanalysis and Feminism. New York: Random House, 1974.

Wilson, et al., Readings in Human Sexuality, pp. 69-71 pp. 81-83 (see bibliography).

Tavris and Offir. The Longest War, pp. 132-144, 152-158.

Chassequet-Smergel J. (ed.) Female Sexuality: New Psychoanalytic Views. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1970.

Strouse, J. Women and Analysis. New York: Grossman, 1974.

Discussion Topics:

1. the unconscious; sexual sublimation,
2. the psychosexual stages of development;
3. penis envy and its implications; masochism and passivity; "anatomy is destiny";
4. castration urges and the toothed vagina; fear of women;
5. psychoanalysts as the props and policeman of a patriarchal culture;
6. reactions to the Freudians;
7. new theories;
8. feminist therapy.

B. The great clitoral/vaginal orgasm controversy

Readings:

Koedt, Ann. "The Myth of the Vaginal Orgasm." in Sisterhood is Powerful, edited by Robin Morgan. New York: Vintage Books, 1970.

Masters and Johnson.

Tavris and Offir. pp. 72-84.

Singer, Josephine and Singer, Irving. "Types of Female Orgasm." Journal of Sex Research, 8:225-67.

Discussion Topics:

1. Freud's theory of clitoral orgasm as immature and vaginal orgasm as mature;
2. Kinsey's and Masters and Johnson's findings about the clitoris as the source of sexual pleasure in the female; multiple orgasms;
3. Shainess' theories;
4. testimony from women.

C. Are men or women more capable of sexual pleasure?

Readings:

Myth of Tiresias. Ovid. Met. Book III.

Seaman, Barbara. Free and Female. pp. 23-84 (a good summary of arguments)

Sherfey, Mary Jane. "The Nature and Evolution of Female Sexuality." in Psychoanalysis and Women, edited by J.B. Miller. New York: Brummer/Mazel, 1973.

D. The sex studies. Ellis, Kinsey, Kraft-Ebbing, Masters and Johnson, Hite, Redbook survey.

Readings:

Tavris and Offir, pp. 63-76.

Wilson, et al., pp 83-99, 105-127.

McCary, J.L. and Copeland, D.R. Modern View of Human Sexual Behavior. Chicago: I.R.A., 1976.

Brecher, Edward. The Sex Researchers. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1969.

Discussion Topics:

1. Discussion of what the sex researchers listed above discovered about: premarital sex--frequency of; the importance of virginity; extra-marital sex; Kinsey's

homosexual/heterosexual/scale of 1-6; fantasies; masturbation; multiple orgasms; has sexual activity increased?

2. Is there any correlation between socio-economic status, age, education, etc., and sexual activity?

IV. Our Own Definitions.

A. Lesbianism: Identity or Activity.

1. Stereotypes and myths of lesbianism.
   a. women-loving vs. man-hating (for perspectives on man-hating see Bengri, Ingrid. Combat in the Erogenous Zone).
   b. sin or sickness.
   c. child molesting; proslytizing.
   d. butch-femme roles.
   e. lesbians as solely sexual beings.
   f. dominating mother; or dominating father as cause.
   g. bad sexual encounter with a man as cause.

2. Lesbians and the feminist movement.
   a. putting energy into women, and withdrawing it from men
   b. split between lesbians and heterosexuals in NOW and recent strong support of lesbian issues from NOW.
   c. the charge of lesbianism as a method of resistance to the women's movement.
   d. the glorification of loving women.

3. Lesbianism in literature. (see Foster, Jeannette. Sex-Variant Women in Literature, and Rule, Jane, Lesbian Images).

Students should read some of the following fiction:

Brown, Rita Mae. Rubyfruit Jungle. Plainfield, Vt: Daughters, Inc., 1973.

Miller, Isabel. Patience and Sarah. NY: McGraw Hill, 1972.

Stein, Gertrude. Fernhurst, Q.E.D., and other early writings. NY: Liverwright, 1971.

Arnold, June. The Cook and the Carpenter. Plainfield, Vt: Daughters, Inc., 1973.

_____. Sister Gin. Plainfield, Vt: Daughters, Inc., 1973.

Nachman, Elana. Riverfinger Woman. Plainfield, Vt: Daughters, Inc., 1974.

Grahn, Judy. Edward the Dyke and Other Poems.

Readings:

Barnes, Djuna. The Ladies' Almanak, NY: Harper and Row, 1972.

Colette. The Pure and the Impure. NY: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1967.

Vivien, Renee. A Woman Appeared to Me. (With introduction and extensive bibliography by Gayle Rubin) Reno, Nevada: Naiad Press, 1976.

Rule, Jane. Desert of the Heart. NY: Arno Press, 1975.

4. Famous Lesbians.
   - a. Sappho (Students read Sappho: A New Translation, and Woman Plus Woman, pp. 129-161.
   - b. Ruth in the Old Testament (see Chapter 1 in Foster).
   - c. Natalie Barney, Romaine Brooks, Renee Vivien, etc. (cf. women's networks).
   - d. Gertrude Stein.
   - e. Colette, Willa Cather, Amelia Earhart, Radclyffe Hall, George Eliot, Marie Antoinette, Empress Leopoldina of Brazil, Emma Lyon, Carey Thomas, Sarah Churchill, Emily Dickinson, Amy Lowell, Madame de Stael, Dorothy Thompson, Mary Wollstonecraft, etc.

For readings see bibliography. For discussion of the Amazons, see lecture on matriarchy and matrilineality.

B. Bisexuality: Straight or Gay? Or rejected by both?

Readings:

Nicolson, Nigel. Portrait of a Marriage. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973.

Plato. The Symposium.

Bode, Janet. View from Another Closet. (See bibliography.)

Rosa, Laura Della. "The Bi-Sexual Potential," in After You're Out: Personal Experiences of Gay Men and Lesbian Women. (Edited by Karla Jay and Allen Young.) NY: Links Books, 1975, p. 62.

Jem. "A Bi-Sexual Offers Some Thoughts on Fences," in After You're Out.

Discussion Topics:

1. Possible causes.
    a. simple preference
    b. family background--siblings, parents, socio-economic status
    c. genes or hormones?
2. Are bisexuals really gays holding on to respectability?
3. Simultaneous relationships with men and women--problems and satisfactions.
4. The sexuality of men and women--comparisons and differences.

C. Masturbation. The road to insanity or to self love?

Readings:

Native American myth. "The Girl Who Abused Herself With--a Cactus." In Niethammer (p. 34), see bibliography.

Dodson, Betty. Liberating Masturbation: A Meditation on Self-Love. Egyptian myth of creation.

Barbach. For Yourself, pp. 87-94 (see bibliography).

Spitz, Rene A. "Authority and Masturbation," The Psychoanalytic Quarterly. 21:490-527.

Discussion Topics:

1. Blindness, hairy palms, warts, etc., as possible consequences.
2. Learning sexual responses and own body.
3. Positive and negative feelings about genitals.
4. Independence--depending only on one's self for sexual pleasure.

D. Celibacy.

Readings:

Our Bodies, Ourselves, pp. 77-78.

Discussion Topics:

1. Social stigma--Old Maid syndrome.
2. By choice or by compulsion.
3. Independence.
4. Nuns and other monastic orders.

E. Heterosexuality.

Readings:

Sherfey, Mary Jane. "A Theory on Female Sexuality," in Sisterhood is Powerful.

Bengis, Ingrid. "Love," in Combat in the Erogenous Zone. New York: Bantam Books [1973, c.1972]

Barbach. For Yourself. pp. 87-94. See bibliography.

Our Bodies, Ourselves, Chapters 2 and 3.

Greer, Germaine. "Sex" in the Female Eunuch. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1970.

Wharton, Edith. "Beatrice Palmato," R.W.B. Lewis, Edith Wharton: A Biography. New York: Harper and Row, 1975, p. 594.

Heiman, Julia R. "The Psychology of Erotica: Woman's Sexual Arousal," Psychology Today. 8 (April): 90-94.

Gould, Lois. "Pornography for Women," Uta West (ed.) Women in a Changing World. McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1975.

Discussion Topics:

1. Fantasies. Pornography. Erotica.
2. The role of the clitoris.
3. Virginity--its meaning. Expectations concerning its loss.

4. Sexual Response Cycle. (Excitement, Plateau, Orgasm, Resolution)
5. Sex inside and outside relationships. Emotional investments in sexuality.
6. Oral and anal sex: views and images of.
7. "Foreplay"--does the word create a false dichotomy supporting the assumption that only intercourse is the real thing? Importance of it in relations to women's sexuality.
8. Sexual activity for aging women.
9. Problems. (Fear of pregnancy, lack of communication, lack of experience, fear of experimentation, inhibitions stemming from religious or moral strictures, sexual aversion, dispareunia, vaginismum.)
10. The power element between men and women possible preventing an equal sexual relationship between them.

F. On Virginity.

The concept of virginity has been expressed in a variety of ways. In the Old Testament a virgin was a woman who was unmarried. Much of the discussion that has been carried on about Mary, the mother of Jesus, has been based on the assumption that a virgin is one who has not had sexual intercourse, rather than one who is unmarried.

The interweaving of the concepts of virginity and celibacy occurred in the early years of the Christian church. In part it arose from the fear of sexuality of women by the early Church fathers. They saw virginity as an achievement, an overcoming of the overabundant sexuality of women. In addition, a good deal of the discussion of virginity is based on an idea of a mind-body split, with man being the mind, woman the body. (This split is also seen in Greek thought--the man representing rational, ordering spirit, and the woman emotional, uncontrolled body). The body, i.e., woman, was continually responsible for leading men into sin, according to Augustine and other Church fathers.

By becoming a virgin, woman lost her essential nature and "became" a man. There was a belief expressed in the Second Epistle of Clement that the Kingdom will come "when the two are one, and the outside like the inside, the male like the female, that is neither male nor female." In the Epistle, this means "when a brother seeing a sister does not think of her as a woman, and when a sister seeing a brother does not think of him as a man." (Second letter of Clement, No. 12. Early Christian Fathers, Philadelphia, 1953). This led to some abuses and there were letters from Bishops condemning the men and women who sleep together as brothers. Ambrose of Milan wrote several letters on this subject. He said that true virginity is of the heart, not just the body, and implies simplicity and poverty. He believed that the virginal life manifests the fundamental Christian freedom by gaining now what others will receive in heaven. For him, to choose virginity was to choose the angelic life.

The disagreement among the Church fathers about marriage is reflected in the writings about virginity. Saint Jerome admonished a widow to mourn the previous loss of her virginity more than the loss of her husband. Ambrose wrote: "Let no one who has chosen marriage despise virginity, or one who has chosen virginity despise marriage."

Much of the writing about virginity was about Mary, who was juxtaposed with Eve. Eve was seen as the person responsible for the sin of humanity. Tertullian says: "You are the Devil's gateway. You are the unsealer of that forbidden tree. You are the first deserter of the Divine Law. You are she who persuaded him whom the Devil was not valiant enought to attack. You destroyed so easily God's image man. On account of your desert, that is death, even the Son of God had to die." Because Eve was responsible for all the problems, Mary came to be seen as the one who had overcome these problems by being the mother of Jesus. The purity of Mary and her virginity became of great concern to the Church fathers. They developed a concept of her perpetual virginity.

The idea of virginity led to the development of all kinds of myths about the healing power of virgins. Some went so far as to say that the bones of a virgin would protect bridges and buildings. The nursery rhyme "London Bridge is Falling Down" reflects this imagery. A virgin who had died a normal death was put in the base of buildings, bridges, etc. The virgin buried in the bridge in the rhyme had supposedly been found not to have died a natural death and therefore the bridge was in jeopardy.

There are many discussions of these ideas. The best are found in:

Tavard, George H. Women in Christian Tradition. Notre Dame Press, 1973. (Particularly Chapter 5.)

Reuther, Rosemary R., ed. Religion and Sexism. Simon and Schuster, 1974. (Particularly Chapter 5.)

The development of the virginity of Mary is one that continues to influence us today. See Gertrude Von LeFort, The Eternal Feminine.

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QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. How do you think men's view of what is erotic differs from that of women? Does this have any connection with the nature of women's sexuality?

2. Does our culture portray men as being more erotically oriented than women? If so, does physiological data support this image?

3. What influences women's decisions about what is moral or socially acceptable sexually?

4. Are all people potentially bisexual? What evidence supports your view? If yes, what prevents people in our society from developing this potential as the ancient Greeks did, or acting on it?

5. In a society where deities' sexual activity was glorified in cult and art, would there be a greater tendency among women in the society to feel more comfortable expressing their own sexuality? What evidence supports your view?

6. In examining goddesses who are patrons of sexuality and eroticism, what traits emerge?

7. Are women in mythology stigmatized or expected to feel guilty for sexual activity?

8. What images of the nature of women's sexuality emerges from a study of the philosophies of the early Church fathers? How much of these images survive to influence our view of women's sexuality?

9. How has the view of some psychoanalysts that women are inherently masochistic affected women's sexual functioning?

10. What demographic factors in early Biblical society influenced sexual prohibitions and mores in that society?

11. Mary is celebrated in Christian religion for being the only pure woman. Does this definitionally make every non-celibate woman impure? Does this apply to men?

12. The Victorians believed that women were not capable of sexual pleasure. How would this affect women's views of themselves?

13. For years orgasm was presumed to originate in the vagina (despite some empirical observation to the contrary). Did women react to this assumption by feeling inadequate because they could not "achieve" the proper type of orgasm? Did this supposition hinder sexual pleasure by convincing a man that if he got pleasure from sex a woman automatically did also?

14. When does a woman identify herself as a lesbian--after: strong emotional attachment to other women; dreams; fantasies; expressions of physical affection short of overt sexual activity; one sexual experience culminating in orgasm (two? three?)? Does identifying oneself as lesbian involve renouncing all sexual activity with men?

15. Why do many heterosexual women and men find lesbianism and lesbians threatening? Why is there a social stigma attached to lesbians?

16. Does sexual activity between women "count for less" or seem less important than sexual activity between men? Why?

17. Can you be aggressive and be a "real woman?" To be a "real" woman, must you relate to men? Is a woman's identity defined solely in terms of a love or sexual relationship with a man?

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UNIT II. Fertility

Introduction

Fertility has been an inescapable facet of women's identity. In the past, there were few methods of birth control available. Societal pressures to bear children were such that even if there had been, little effective choice existed for women. Child-rearing customs chained women to the home and to the family as securely as the oxen to the yoke.

This section examines the cult of the Mother Goddess, which glorified the fertility of women by worshipping a deity who was depicted as pregnant, and who sympathetically induced the fertility of the women and of the fields. It then goes on to outline discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of the new methods and philosophy of birth control, child-rearing and parenting in an effort to discover how these changes have affected women's identity.

Lecture Outline

I. Paternity confusion.

Discussion of how "primitive" people do not recognize the role of men in conceiving a child. Implications of the belief that a woman produces a child by her own special magic. (See: Margaret Mead, Male and Female; Frazier, Sir James, The Golden Bough; and Cottrell, Leonard, The Bull of Minos.)

II. Women as gatherers. The Agricultural Revolution and its implication for women.

Tavris and Offir. The Longest War, pp. 258-269.

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III. The Mother Goddess--giver of all good things.

- A. Characteristics common to most mother goddess figures--attributes and cult practices, evidence of what effect she had on society.
- B. Neolithic remains. (For example: Mellaart James. Catal Huyuk: a Neolithic Town in Anatolia, and in the Cambridge Ancient History, Volume I, Part I, pp. 724, 278, 357, 379.)
- C. Inducing fertility by imitation. Orgiastic and other fertility rites.
  - 1. The Dionysia and the worship of Dionysos. (Euripides, The Bacchae. See Guthrie, W.K.C. The Greeks and Their Gods. U.S.: Beacon Press, 1954. pp. 145-183.)
  - 2. The Thesmophoria. (Aristophanes. Thesmorphoriazusea.)
  - 3. The Elusinian Mysteries. (See Mylonas, George. Eleusis and Elusinian Mysteries. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961.)
  - 4. The Orphic Cults.
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- E. The Cult of Isis.
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  - 2. As a major religion in Hellenistic times. See F.E. Peters. Harvest of Hellenism: A History of the Near East from Alexander the Great to the Triumph of Christianity.
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F. The coming of the Indo-European invaders and the division of integrated Mother Goddess figures into specialized female divinities.

1. Apollo conquers the Pythia. (Male principle vs. Female principle.) The conquering of the Delphic Oracle. See H.W. Parke, The Delphic Oracle.

2. Mother Goddess figures become specialized.
Birth of Athena. Appolonius Rhodius IV. 1310.
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James, Edwin O. The Worship of the Sky God: Semitic and Indo-European Religion.

   a. Athena
   b. Artemis
   c. Hera
   d. Hestia
   e. Aphrodite

3. Other Mother Goddesses. Partial listing for further research by the teacher.

   a. Shawness--Our Grandmother. Niethammer, Carole. Daughters of the Earth. p. 243.
   b. The Return of the Corn Person. Niethamer, p. 244.
   c. Danu-Brigit--Ireland.
   d. Anath in Ugarit. The Mistress of Heavens. Avenged the death of Baal.
   e. Ama no Uzume--Japan.
   f. Mama Quilla--Peru.
   g. Ishtar/Inanna--Babylon.
   h. Cybele. The Great Mother of Phrygia.
   i. Ge. Rhea.
   j. Minoan Lady of the Wild Bersts, Lady of the Mountains, Lady of the Plants, Mistress of the Tress, the Snake Goddess, Guardian of the Dead.

G. Mother Goddess Iconography.

IV. Controlling fertility--birth control.
General information as to methods--Our Bodies, Ourselves.

A. The sexual revolution--did it happen?
Historical implications for women who are no longer forced to bear children.
Disadvantages women labored under in the past.
Famous women whose activities were curtailed by childbirth.

B. Woman as progenitrix of armies.
Suppressing birth control devices and information to produce strong soldiers for war. (Hitler's Germany.)
Women as Broodmares.

C. Genocide of Third World populations.
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A. Mother/child bonding. Nature or nurture.

1. Psychoanalytic and psychotherapeutic prescriptions for Motherhood.

a. completes the woman especially if the child is a boy (gives her a penis).
b. Motherhood as definition of womanhood (Erikson in Strauss).
c. Chodorow (in Rosaldo and Lamphere).
d. Maternal Instinct--does it exist?

2. Societal imperatives.

a. pronatalist policies.
b. media images of motherhood.
c. motherhood as bliss vs. parenthood in crisis.

B. Barbaric ritual--the American way of birth.

1. Depersonalization
2. Overuse of drugs
3. Lack of contact with infant at crucial time

C. Natural Childbirth and Birth Without Pain.

D. Home births.

1. the issue of safety
2. midwives as criminals.

E. Variant child-rearing structures.

1. child care centers.
2. communes.
3. extended families/networks of friends.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Some anthropologists have defined our conception of history as linear--societies moving progressively from one point (usually worse off) to another point (usually better off). Many ancient societies which engaged in fertility rites saw history as cyclical, paralleling the annual death and rejuvenation of the crops. How do you think such conceptions affected the position of women in the society? (If at all.)

2. Some scholars have postulated the theory that the Indo-Europeans, invading what is now Greece, brought with them a patriarchal, sky-oriented religion, and suppressed the female-centered, earth-oriented religion that they found. From your readings, how much evidence is there to support this view?

3. How have widely available methods of effective birth control affected women's view of themselves? Has there been a sexual revolution brought about by widespread dissemination of the pill? Historically, how do you think women's self-image was affected by the probability of bearing a child every year (if she were sexually active)?

4. Is there a connection between demographic factors such as limited arable land for crops, and the desirability for a large family, or the use of birth control devices in the culture? Do people see large families as desirable in our society? If so, do such attitudes derive from a time when reproduction was needed to insure survival of the group? Is there such a thing as a maternal instinct? Or are maternal feelings learned? In Neolithic times, women often tended the crops, while men hunted. Are men and women naturally suited for these tasks? What factors contributed to this division of labor?

5. In some Near Eastern societies in the past, to honor a fertility deity and to induce the crops to grow, people would engage in sexual intercourse as part of religious cult practice. At the advent of Christianity, such practices were discouraged and suppressed. A strong propaganda campaign was instituted against such practices. How much do you think this suppression has to do with many people's ideas that sex is dirty, disgusting, etc.?

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UNIT III. Work and Family

Introduction

This unit is divided into five sections: 1) Family in Evolutionary Perspective; 2) The Family in the Contemporary United States; 3) Women in the Labor Force in the Contemporary United States; 4) Family Variants: Working Class Families; the Black Family; Single-Headed Families; Childlessness; and 5) Work: Psychological and Sociological Aspects. We have listed discussion questions and bibliography at the end of each section. Recommended fiction for this unit is listed on page 52 .

Lecture Outline

Section 1. Family in Evolutionary Perspective

I. Definitions

A. Family: coresidential unit of man and woman and any children (or remnant of this unit--as single parent and child) within which collective activities of production, reproduction and consumption may be carried on.

B. Work: productive labor, can be for own use or for market exchange. In contemporary setting, used commonly as paid productive labor for exchange carried on outside the home.

C. Evolution: process of growth and development (in reference to social units, usually of complexity and scale).

II. Point of view

A. Large-scale structural change--changes in technoeconomic base and structures

B. Focus on behavior, not norms, not legal prescription

C. Focus not on individuals, but on households and families

III. Evolutionary views in the literature

A. Classic statement. Friedrich Engels, The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State (1884) discussed relationship of family to political and economic organization. Based on what is currently seen as an outmoded and discredited anthropological interpretation (see critique by Sacks, Zaretsky). He argued that the mode of production determined political organization, family structure, relationships between the sexes. The family was the product of men's desire to know their children, once they owned property. The institution of private property. The institution of private property was the origin of female oppression.

B. A more recent statement by Claude Meillassoux argues that mode of production determines the mode of reproduction, but that reproduction and not production is the basis for social relations. A household can be self-supporting in producing food and other needs. It cannot be self reproducing. It needs outsiders to reproduce not because of any fear of incest but because of the age and sex requirements for reproduction. The regularization of social relations between households in order to guarantee reproduction is the basis of society and the state.

Meillassoux argues that the Marxian emphasis on production for exchange value--institutionalized work, wages, etc.--tends to leave out and overlook the social value of reproduction which is crucial in simple societies. The problem is to reproduce (enough but not too many) in the next generation. Marxian economics tends to understand this from the point of view of the group ("need to reproduce the labor force") but not from the point of view of the family or household.

C. Main evidence for social evolutionary schemes comes from anthropological (ethnographic) evidence. The evidence gathered in contemporary societies with less developed economies is seen as the equivalent of less-developed economies in the past. Thus a cross-cultural, cross-sectional study of societies "stands for" a historical, evolutionary one.

IV. Production and Reproduction

A. Techno-economic base. Type of access to food and other necessities--from hunting and gathering, to pastoral, agricultural, industrial bases and the level of technology (ability to intervene in nature) that goes with it.

B. Demographic regime. In the past, and in less developed societies, demographic factors have been very important socially in affecting how families act. In the present, reproduction is both sure (that is, babies born will survive to adulthood) and the need for population is relatively low (our economy's labor productivity is so high that we need limited, not unlimited supplies of labor in the future.) Now the prospect of exhausting resources imposes another structural limit--on the number of consumers: again, these are very recent developments (post World War II). Before 1900 mortality was so high even in Europe and the U.S. that high fertility was needed to replace populations. Populations that outgrew techno-economic base suffered excess mortality through hunger and disease.

V. Evolutionary View of Family and Reproduction

A. Hunting and gathering people. King (Bushmen) of Kalihari Desert area--techno-economic base very frail. Land can support relatively small population. Marshall Sahlins points out (Stone Age Economics) that these people have little because they want little. They have a lot of spare time. Women gather nuts and berries, do small animal hunting in groups, have social relationship with same groups. Not a strong demand for labor. Reproductive choices loose. Since mothers have to carry babies as they move, they cannot have more than one at a time; a low rate of reproduction results. Low fertility may be due partly to lack of fat in diet. Also possibility of infanticide. Mortality is not exceptionally high as long as population is in balance with resources. Men hunt.

B. Pastoral society--Family strongly patrilineal. Male workers needed, grouping together of brothers as work teams. Women are valued as mothers of sons but not as daughters.

C. Settled agriculture. (From here on, European examples). Plow agriculture as opposed to horticulture (gardening)--labor intensive, irrigated agriculture. Historically, in Europe, linked with growth of state, growth of markets. Removal of work from hearth--division of labor. Women still produce. Labor power of males needed yet land owning means don't want there to be too many heirs. Workers on a holding determined by size of holding. A certain distribution by age and sex needed. Family needs to expand itself by hiring workers when there are not enough family members of the right age and sex; contract by sending family members elsewhere to work when there are too many.

Women divided between productive labor and reproduction. Because of high mortality (especially infant mortality) high fertility does not produce too many children. Further, in Western Europe, historically, there was a late age of marriage and relatively high degree of celibacy. High rate of dissolution of marriage by death.

D. Growth of cities, growth of industry, and growth in scale of agriculture all increased productivity. These processes increase proportion of population which is not in agriculture, which does not own property. Reproductive activity cannot easily be combined with productive activity as production moves out of household; mortality of infants does not decline rapidly.

Family does not disappear, lose function, etc. It helps people migrate, get jobs, etc. and mothers who don't work perform services for workers, bear and raise the next generation.

Wives are rarely workers outside the home in this kind of situation. The industrial economy needs primarily male workers. But improving mortality conditions due to prosperity means that fewer children are needed. Infant mortality reduced by more maternal attention. Mothers are less needed as producers with increasing productivity of male workers (better wages) mothers and wives specialize in child bearing, child rearing, managing consumption.

Fertility control within marriage begins to show on national fertility rates in the late 19th century. Demographic situation has moved from high fertility, high mortality to low fertility, low mortality.

Families are smaller, life more predictable.

It is only about 1900 that the nuclear family we are familiar with crystallizes.

VI. Changes

A. Society Industrializes--growth of scale increases of labor and resources in manufacturing.

B. Cities and proportion of urban population grow.

C. Fertility, mortality fall.

D. Families get smaller. Birth control is used.

E. Extended family becomes less important (warning: people never seem to have lived in extended families over all their lives. Mortality conditions were such that grandparents were likely to be dead when their grandchildren were born.)

F. Age of marriage goes down.

G. Proportion married goes up.

H. Do more women "work"? Almost all women did productive labor in pre-industrial society. In industrial society there is a sharper differentiation between work and non-work. There is more leisure. If we count women's work in the household setting and in the labor force, probably fewer women "work" now than in period of household production, because of the growth of leisure.

I. Personal life. Has there been an increased privatization of family? Does family perform more emotional support function now? The personal life of the past is hard to get at. The artifacts of the past suggest a less intense attitude toward children and the more public nature of family life in the past.

Attitudes are hard to discern. There is more privacy now, children live, parents can spend more money on their children.

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*Especially recommended for students.

Section 2. The Family in the Contemporary United States

This lecture examines the structure of the family in the contemporary United States from two points of view: the couple, and the parents and children. Constraining aspects of family responsibility on women's identity are discussed, as are various suggestions for modifying these constraints.

I. Definitions

A. Nuclear family: a couple and their children. This definition does not specify activities in the couple (such as that husband works, wife doesn't) but simply describes a unit with certain biological and socio-legal connections between and among members.

B. Household is a co-residential unit of persons who share four walls and, most likely, eating arrangements. They may or may not be married or blood relations.

C. Extended family: nuclear family plus other blood or socio-legal relatives, such as grandparent(s), aunt(s), uncle(s), nephew(s), niece(s), grandchildren.

II. Alice Rossi points out that much contemporary "family" literature is focused on couple relationships, rather than "generational continuity and parent-child relationships." She sees this partly as a reaction to the functionalist sociological (Parsonian) concept of nuclear family as "natural" and "good" because it works. She questions the swing toward cultural determinism and extreme egalitarianism in contemporary social science.

Whether or not we accept all of her analysis, we should note her warning: The result is a tendency in much contemporary thinking to confuse equality with identity and diversity with inequality. But where age and sex are concerned, diversity is a biological fact, while equality is a political, ethical and social precept."

So this lecture focuses not only on marriage but also on parenting.

III. Parents and Children

A. The demography of the contemporary United States (Bane 1-20).

1. Low mortality, low fertility after baby boom ended in early 60's.

2. Aging population

3. Family size (causes of decrease) and childlessness
4. Living arrangements of children (note increased number and proportion of single parent families--discussed in later lecture)
5. Childcare arrangements
6. Vulnerability of children and need for rights

B. Economic perspective--the "new home economics" is a microeconomic theory. It doesn't deal with the economy as a whole but with households. It asks questions about why people have children and how many. "Children are viewed as either 'producer durables' (i.e., producing a stream of future income for their parents--perhaps when the latter are old and retired, if not sooner) or as 'consumer durables' (i.e., producing a stream of future satisfactions for their parents in the same fashion as does an automobile or a house). In a modern, industrialized country with a well-developed system of social insurance and little or no child labor, children are most clearly analogous to consumer goods. In the rural areas of industrialized nations or in the less developed parts of the world, their value as workers is greater, and this is undoubtedly one explanation for the higher fertility in these areas.

Because of children's value (whether as producer or as consumer goods) parents are willing to invest both time and money in child bearing and childrearing." (p. 117)

Not only do meanings of children's value change with economic growth, they vary with class and status within a society. Economic analysis shows that child bearing is negatively related to the price of the mother's time. A woman who can make a good salary because of advanced education has fewer children.

This does not necessarily mean that she will work rather than have children. In fact, she and her family may decide that she should use her time in rearing "high quality" children.

C. Bane concludes that there is little evidence of less care for children in contemporary families. "The most important difference between today's children and children of their great-grandparents' and grandparents' time is that there are proportionately fewer of them." (p. 19)

Further, "parent-child bonds persist despite changes in patterns of disruption..." (p. 19) Many fewer parents and children die, so the rate of disruption of these bonds is lower than it was with higher mortality. Almost all children today are being taken care of by at least one parent."

IV. Couples (Bane 21-36)

A. Divorce up--correlates of divorce. Possibility that egalitarian marriage is an alternative.

B. Proportions marrying up.

C. Age at marriage up slightly

D. Marital life cycle

Concept of life cycle from newly married, to first child, to children living, couple alone, death of first spouse.

This cycle has changed dramatically over the years due to increased life expectancy and changed fertility patterns (child bearing concentrated in a relatively short period). Husbands and wives have many more years alone together. Couples will spend only 18% of their married lives raising children, compared with 54% a century ago.

E. Tavris and Offir material on housewife, differing views of satisfaction in marriage between husbands and wives. See Oakley for much material on housework.

V. Psychological and Sociological perspectives

A. Perception of marriage (Bernard articles)

1. Myth: Society's perception
2. Reality: Woman's perception

B. Division of labor--the psychological and sociological imperative of "traditional" division of labor (it is functional and preserves the status quo.)

C. Role conflict and dual careers

1. What are the components of role conflict? Spouse, children, work, leisure.
2. How does one cope? Redefine role (personal)--e.g., set up priorities; Redefine role (structural)--e.g., hire a housekeeper; Role rejection--e.g., quit work or get divorced, etc.; Renaissance woman--try to do everything well.

VI. Suggestions for change

A. Role flexibility--husbands take a larger role in housework, child nurture, wives do outside work.

B. Rossi--farther child spacing, child growth centers, more social sharing of households, families to end isolation of mothers and children.

C. Bane--measures for quaranteeing adequate support and protection for children despite family breakup, "Life time insurance."

D. Individual rights and framework for social conceptualization (C.S. Bell).

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What are the main factors which have changed family structure in the United States over the last 200 years?
2. How has the family cycle changed in this period?
3. How can society reconcile the need for care of dependent children and parents' claims to autonomy?

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*Especially recommended for students.

Section 3. Family Variants: Working Class Families; The Black Family; Single-Headed Families; Childlessness

The other lectures on work and family have focused on middle class marriages which produce children. Here we look at other classes and ethnic groups, group efforts at child rearing, and couples who are voluntarily childless.

I. Working class families

Topics chosen from Rubin. Emphasis on constraints and limitations of working class married life, how lack of understanding between husbands and wives, parents and children, is common. Yet marriage seen as achievement of adulthood. Continued importance of kinship network for women and men.

II. Black families

Carol Stack makes a strong case against any pathological interpretation of Black family. If we ask whether children are being raised in a fairly stable situation, the answer is yes. Welfare and poverty mean that couples are unstable but children are somewho raised, by kin networks that help their mothers. Importance of grandparents and non-married liaisons in these networks.

III. Communes and group efforts at child raising

Rossi has a brief summary of findings presented in various articles in The Family Coordinator (FN 49-55, p. 29). Evidently their own mothers usually have ultimate responsibility for young children, and most mothers choose to have it this way.

Her criticism is biting:

"Just as the sexual script, so the parenting script in the new family sociology seems to be modeled on what has been a male pattern of relating to children, in which men turn their fathering on and off to suit themselves or their appointments for business or sexual pleasure. The authors and dramatists of both the mating and parenting scripts in the new perspectives on the family are just as heavily male as the older schools of thought about the modern family, if not in the generic sense, then in the sense that parenting is viewed from a distance, as an appendage to, or consequence of, mating, rather than the focus of family systems and individual lives. It is not at all clear what the gains will be for either women or children in this version of human liberation."

IV. Childlessness

Establishing the legitimacy of childlessness is an important aspect of making the whole range of choice of parenting and non-parenting possible.

The motherhood mandate and childless couples.

Adult development and childlessness.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What structural or situational factors shape the differences between middle and working class families?
2. Compare these factors with the historical view of family in development.
3. How can women in such constrained situations find self pride?
4. What kind of support do Black women and working class women get from each other?

V. Utopias

A. The role of women, women's work and the family in literary Utopias

1. Sir Thomas More. Utopia
2. Plato. The Republic. The Laws. (See Saxonhouse, Arlene W. "The Philosopher and the Female in the Political Thought of Plato." Political Theory. Vol. 4 No. 2, May, 1976)
3. James Hilton. Lost Horizon. (Shangri-La)
4. Jonathan Swift. Gulliver's Travels
5. George Orwell. 1984.
6. Aldous Husley. Brave New World
7. Eugene Zamiatin. We
8. B.F. Skinner. Walden Two
9. Ayn Rand. Atlas Shrugged

B. Feminist Utopias

1. Joanna Russ. The Female Man
2. Ursula LeGuin. The Dispossessed. New York: Avon, 1974.

3. Ursula LeGuin. The Left Hand of Darkness. U.S.A.: Ace Books, 1969.
4. Dorothy Bryant. The Kin of Ata Are Waiting For You. New York: Moon Books and Random House, 1971

C. The attempts to turn Utopian Ideals into reality
1. Brook Farm--George Ripley (1841-1849)
2. Oneida--John Humphrey Noyes
3. Nashoba--Frances Wright
4. Charles Fourier and the French Utopian Socialists
5. Fruitlands
6. The Shakers--Mother Ann Lee
7. Fruitlands
8. Mormons

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What kind of work are women doing in the above societies?

2. How does it differ from work done by women in the United States today?

3. What are the underlying assumptions of these societies as to what kind of work men and women are suited for?

4. What is the economic structure of these societies?

5. Is there any correlation between the kind of economic structure and the role of women?

6. What kind of family structure exists (nuclear, extended, none)?

7. How are children born? Who takes care of them?

8. Do children know their biological parents?

9. Are children nurtured by their biological parents?

10. Do men or women or both take care of children?

11. If there is a difference between who takes care of children in these societies, and who takes care of children (and where) in our society, is there any correlation between the type of economic or social structure and who is taking care of the children?

12. How is work divided within the family (if there is one)?

13. What are the general attitudes towards women in these utopias?

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*Especially recommended for students.

Section 4. Work: Psychological and Sociological Aspects

The psychological literature most relevent to the area of work is on women and achievement. A complete lecture on achievement motivation can be gleaned from the following article:

Stein, A.H. and Bailey, M.M., "The Socialization of Achievement Orientation in Females," *Psychological Bulletin*, 1973, 80, 345-366. Also in A. Kaplan and J. Bean (eds.), *Beyond Sex-Role Stereotypes: Toward a Psychology of Androgyny*. Boston: Little Brown, 1976.

I. Achievement Motivation

   A. Traditional theoretical and empirical work

      1. Male bias in the field (the use of male subjects)

      2. Original conceptualization by McClelland: achievement motivation is a relatively stable disposition to strive for success in any situation where standards of excellence are applicable.

      3. Atkinson and Feather add hope of success and fear of failure to the formula. Aroused motivation is a function of *expectancy* of success and the *incentive value* of success or failure as well as *the strength* of hope of success and fear of failure.

      4. Crandall included expectancy of success, attainment value, and standards of performance. Motivation should be assessed in *particular* achievement areas (i.e., sex role appropriate); this accounts for some of the problems in research when dealing with female subjects. Female achievement orientation is manifested in areas which represent culturally defined sex appropriate activities, e.g., social skills.

      5. Many say that female achievement behavior is motivated by affiliations rather than achievement. The relevant findings in this area are:

         a. Girls are reinforced for achievement behavior only if these are displayed in a social context.

         b. Veroff differentiated between autonomous achievement motivation and social comparison achievement motivation and an integration of the two (which appear developmentally in that order). He found that girls had trouble with the integration. (On his projective measures, all the figures are male!)

c. Evidence suggests that social skills are an area of achievement for females and that females are not necessarily more sensitive to social approval but may be reinforced for a more social pattern of achievement.

d. All of this says that there is more than one way of achieving--a severe limitation of definition in much of the work in the area.

B. Fear of Success

1. History of the concept: added to the achievement motivation formula in order to eliminate the large "noise" factor when applying the formula to women. Refer to the Horner article in Journal of Social Issues, 1972, Vol. 28 (2) for the original formulation of fear of success. There have been a series of non-replications of Horner's original study.

2. Reinterpretation: fear of success is intimately related to sex role definitions and anticipated consequences of deviating from them. Simply, deviance produces negative consequences.

3. Fear of success is a situational variable, not an inherent trait. Implications:

a. Traits require "treatment" for change.

b. To say that women fear success is blaming the victim.

c. For good critiques of fear of success literature see article by Condry and Dyer (1976).

II. Other issues related to achievement in women

A. Attribution of success and failure--girls attribute to luck, boys attribute success to ability. See articles by Deaux and Dwek for discussion of this literature and empirical studies.

B. Structural barriers to achievement

1. Overt discrimination

2. Subtle and covert mechanisms (e.g., communication networks, friendships, etc.) See articles by Epstein, Bunker and Seashore, O'Leary.

C. Role innovation: Implications and consequences

1. Determinants of role innovation (Tangri article)

2. The "Queen Bee" syndrome (Staines)

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What is the "blame the victim" approach and how does some of the literature fit into this conceptualization?

2. What are the implications of alternative conceptualizations for theory and method?

3. What does this literature say about the impact of popular prejudices on science and the influence of science on popular prejudices?

4. What is the value of the fear of success literature and why was it picked up so readily by women in many fields and in the general public even though it is now somewhat discredited?

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Section 5. Women in the Labor Force in the Contemporary United States

I. Structural factors influencing women's labor force participation

A. Warning: Once the labor force concept in its formal sense was introduced, statistics were gathered to record those who were "in the labor force" (i.e., actively working for pay or seeking such work). These statistics give a sense of concreteness which is probably quite inaccurate. In the U.S., women's work and particularly married women's work has been historically particularly underreported. The definition of labor force participation has been progressively broadened and made more precise. Therefore, the long term historical trend toward increased labor force participation by women should probably not be taken as strictly accurate. Nevertheless, the figures since World War II are worthwhile and certain comparisons can be made between them and earlier periods.

B. Aggregate view: Oppenheimer and others have shown the powerful combined effects of changes in occupational structure, occupational segregation, and demographic factors on women's employment.

1. Occupational segregation. Most single occupations are primarily held by males or by females. That is, most occupations are held by a higher percentage of a single sex than is the overall distribution of the sexes in all jobs. Thus there are female occupations--nurse, school teacher, secretary, clerk, and so on, and there are male occupations, miner, bartender, mechanic, account executive, etc. The sex-type of occupations has changed over time (secretaries and sales clerks were both primarily male) but the trend toward occupational segregation has not lessened.

2. Demand for workers has varied with structure of the economy. Historically, there has been a trend of resources and labor away from small scale agriculture (in which women worked in household units) toward larger scale manufacturing and services. Women worked in certain kinds of manufacturing only--textiles and garment industry. Heavy industry hired mostly men. With the development of a larger area of light industry (especially electronics) and of tertiary sector (services, stores, schools, government) after World War II, there was an increased demand for women workers. Much of this changed economic structure and demand was based on post war population growth.

3. Supply of male workers was inadequate to fill all the new jobs. The supply of single women workers was also too small. Workers coming to maturity in the 1950's were an especially small group (cohort) for they were the persons born in the depression of 1929-30. Because of the prosperity of the early '50s, also, many of them stayed out of the labor force for additional years of education. Consequence: older married women were called in to do many of the new jobs.

A new style of labor force participation by women emerged which involved less paid employment in single years after completion of education, more in married years after children were in school or grown.

This pattern has been modified again in the 1970's with increased labor force participation in single or early married years and continued labor force participation in older years. This has accompanied a steep decline in fertility.

Women, on the average, are often protected in jobs because of segregation. These service jobs are more stable and less liable to depression or regression than construction or heavy industry, in which men work.

II. Micro economic view of labor force participation looks into individuals and households to see why women work.

A. Individuals--need for money and satisfaction. Increased education of women.

B. Households--a married woman's decision on how to allocate her time is 3-way (Kreps and Leaper, Sawhill, "Economic Perspectives").

1. How much of her time is given to home work without pay.
2. How much to market work with pay.
3. How much to leisure.

Factors which enter into this time allocation decision are the education of a woman and perceived needs for children. If a family wants to educate their children, buy them many things, then more income is needed.

III. Working mothers'

A. Sawhill on Woman-headed household and financial problems

B. Tavris and Offir on double job of working wives: housework and job; lack of assistance with housework.

C. Child care

D. Power in the family

V. Women in occupations

A. Kanter, in Tavris and Offir, situational interpretation (see Appendix III).

B. Social intervention in occupational segregation--discrimination and affirmative action in hiring.

VI. Changes

A. Flextime--see Tavris and Offir, Ruether

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UNIT IV. Fear and Envy

Introduction

The theme of fear and envy pervades much of the literature on myth, anthropology, religion and psychology. One interpretation of the theme is that women have been and are relegated to secondary status as a result of men's fear and envy of their reproductive capacities (and any ability or phenomenon related to reproduction). That is, in order to control the powers of women men have imposed oppressive constraints on the freedom of women. The fear and envy in men has also been projected onto women--women are accused of penis envy, for example.

This unit will begin with an interdisciplinary treatment of the basis for fear and envy, focusing on menstruation and menopause. The next part contains a group of quotations which may be used to organize a discussion about manifestations of fear and envy throughout history. We then consider witches, and finally discuss rape. We recommend the film Rape Culture.

We also list mythological references to be studied as examples of fear and envy.

Lecture Outline

I. Menstruation

The Curse: A Cultural History of Menstruation by Janice Delaney, Mary Jane Lupton, and Emily Toth. New American Library

1977. This book is the basis for the lecture or lectures. A suggested outline is:

A. Taboos and religious myths--Part I, pp. 5-56.

B. Literature and Myth--Part IV, pp. 123-162.

C. Contemporary Myth--Part III, pp. 87-119.

Because there is so mych mythology about menstruation, many women are unaware of the dynamics of the process. Further information in the lecture might include:

D. "The Menstrual Cycle in Action," Part II, pp. 59-84, Delaney _et al_., Excellent drawing and explanation are also available in _Our Bodies, Ourselves_. The Boston Women's Health Collective. NY: Simon and Schuster, pp. 12-22.

E. Menopause--The Curse. Part V--pp. 165-185.

Helpful background books:

Cherry, S. _The Menopause Myth_. NY: Ballantine Books, 1976.

Hays, H.R. _The Dangerous Sex: the Myth of Feminine Evil_. Pocket Books, 1964.

Weideger, P. _Menstruation and Menopause_. Delta, 1975.

II. Menopause.

1. Weideger book presents a good account of physiological and psychological aspects of menopause from a feminist perspective.

2. Fear of menopause stems from the menstruation taboo which is nearly invisible in our society today, but still exists.

    a. Manifested in lack of knowledge about what is supposed to happen and the variability which is the norm.

    b. Perpetuated by gynecologists' bias against women and medical model of treating female functioning as a disease. Weideger states, "The gynecologist has assumed leadership as the enforcer of the menstrual taboo and its adjunct, the mythic menopause. From menarche through menopause, it is this physician/shaman who interprets the meaning of her physical problems and points to the women's failure to obey the rules of femininity as the cause of the problem . . . He shows her the cure (in the form of social readjustment) and tells her she must more rigorously conform to the female role--a role he defines (p. 144)."

   c. Tied up with role definitions of femininity and motherhood.

3. Menopause is only one part of the climacteric.
   a. Men also go through a climacteric involving decreased potency and the aging of tissues and bodily systems.
   b. See article by Ramey about men's cycles.
4. Correlates of menopause.
   a. Feelings of shame
   b. Question sexuality (problems may stem from men's decreased potency which is then blamed on female menopause).
   c. Denial of realities (part of the taboo).
   d. Physiological and psychological changes.

III. Manifestations of fear and envy throughout history and across disciplines. Students should read the following passages and discuss their reactions.

The female is, as it were, a mutilated male . . . a sort of natural deficiency. It is not appropriate in a female character to be manly or clever. The male is by nature superior and the female inferior.

Aristotle

A man says what he knows; a woman says what will please.

Jean Jacques Rousseau

A woman, a dog, and a walnut-tree, the more you beat 'em the better they be.

Thomas Fuller

Woman is given to man so that she may produce children. She is therefore his property, as the fruit tree is the property of the gardener.

Napoleon

A woman is nobody. A wife is everything. A pretty girl is equal to ten thousand men, and a mother is, next to God, all powerful . . . . We trust that the ladies of Philadelphia will resolve to maintain their rights as Wives, Belles, Virgins, and Mothers, and not as Women.

Philadelphia Public
Ledger, 1848

Women are childish, simple and short-sighted. They are their whole life grown-up children, a kind of middle step between the child and the man who is the true human being. Women are the second sex, in every way.

-Schopenhauer

We must start with the realization that, as much as women want to be good scientists or engineers, they want first and foremost to be womanly companions of men and to be mothers.

Bettleheim

The female requires the male, not only for procreation, as in other animals, but also for governance, for the male excels both in intelligence and in strength.

St. Thomas Acquinas

Suffer women once to arrive at an equality with you, and they will from that moment become your superiors.

Cato the Elder

Even school children know that the male is by far the more important sex.

John Calvin

What a mad idea to demand equality for women! Women are nothing but machines for producing children.

Napoleon

When a woman thinks at all, she thinks evil.

Seneca

The fact that women must be regarded as having little sense of justice is no doubt related to the predominance of envy in their mental life.

Freud

It is shameful for a woman to even think of what nature she has, let alone glory in it.

St. Clement of
Alexandria

The five worst infirmities that afflict the female are indocility, discontent, slander, jealousy and silliness.

Confucius

Most women have no characteristics at all.

Alexander Pope

...the little girl is a little man until the castration complex. From then till puberty all she has is a castrated penis; she remains unaware of the existence of her vagina.

Freud

The little girl's castration complex is brought into being by the sight of the boy's penis: this makes her feel inferior and she compensates for her deficiency by penis envy . . .the desire to have a child by the father, as a substitute for the penis, is therefore the dynamic factor in the female Oedipus complex.

Freud

...the boy worries about the girl's sexual organ only when he has established a link between the threat of castration and the sight of the female genital (from which he turns away in "horror" or with "triumphant contempt")... .

Freud

...at the time of the castration complex the girl despises the castrated mother and femininity in general.

Freud

...the discovery of her castration makes the little girl give up clitoral masturbation and therefore phallic activity ... the normal Oedipus situation is only established if the wish for a penis is replaced by one for a baby which takes the place of a penis ... . She is fully satisfied only when she has a son, thus compensating for her penis envy and feeling of inferiority.

Freud

Feminine love is passive and narcissistic. The feminine woman does not love, she lets herself be loved...passive and purely feminine women have no superego.

J. Lampl De Groot

The clitoris plays a purely inhibitory role; it is a superfluous organ.

Deutsch

Don't let a woman, wiggling her behind
And flattering and coaxing, take you in;
She wants your barn: woman is just a cheat.

Hesiod

From her comes all the race of womankind,
The deadly female race and tribe of wives
Who live with mortal men and bring them harm,
No help to them in dreadful poverty
But ready enough to share with them in wealth.
As in the covered hive the honey-bees
Keep feeding drones, conspirators in wrong,
And daily, all day long, until the sun
Goes down, the workers hurry about their work
And build white honeycombs, while those inside
In the sheltered storeroom, fill their bellies up
With products of the toil of others, thus,
Women are bad for men, and the conspire
In wrong, and Zeus the Thunderer made it so.
He made a second evil as a price
Of fire, man's blessing: if a man avoids
Marriage and all the troubles women bring
And never takes a wife, at least he comes
To miserable old age, and does not have
Anyone who will care for the old man.
He has enough to live on, while he lives,
But when he dies, his distant relatives
Divide his property. The married man
Who gets a good wife, suited to his taste,

Gets good and evil mixed, but he who gets
One of the deadly sort, lives all his life
With never-ending pain inside his heart
And on his mind; the wound cannot be healed.

Hesiod

Bring home a wife when you are ripe for it;
When you are thirty, not much more or less,
That is the proper age for marrying.
Your wife should have matured four years before,
And marry in the fifth year. She should be
A virgin; you must teach her sober ways.
Particularly good is one who lives
Nearby, but look around you carefully,
Lest all the neighbours chuckle ar your choice.
No prize is better than a worthy wife;
A bad one makes you shiver with the cold;
The greedy wife will roast her man alive
Without the aid of fire, and though he is
Quite tough, she'll bring him to a raw old age.

Hesiod

IV. Witches

Witchhunting was primarily carried on from the 14th to the 19th centuries. From the 15th century on, women were most often cited as witches. When groups were discussed, women were more frequently named as witches. Alexander of Hales and Thomas Acquinas argued that women were more prone to witchcraft. In the 15th century, both the witch trials and the writing of theoreticians increased. The trend culminated in the Malleus Maleficarum in which by title the gender of witches is feminine and in which the explanation is given that women were in every way morally and mentally inferior to men.

There are those who believe that witchcraft is based on sorcery. In many cultures, sorcerers are more likely to be women than men. This is true in some areas of India as well as Africa. Though deriving primarily from heresy, European witchcraft did have roots in sorcery. Women have been associated with sorcery more often than men because of their traditional roles as cooks, nurses, midwives, and keepers of the home. In addition, special power was attached to childbearing and menstruation. Women gather herbs, and use them for a variety of things: cooking, curing the sick, or even poisoning. Women are said to know the charms that can cause hatred or love, fertility or impotence.

The basis for witchcraft in European areas is to be found in heresy. There was a change in attitudes toward women occurring in the 11th and 12th centuries. Even though it applied to only a few, the idea of courtly love was influential. In theory, the lady became a being more spiritual and more delicate, more refined than the man, who in turn addressed her with a devotion bordering upon religious adoration. At the same time, there was growth in the veneration of the Virgin Mary, which some believe raised women's position. But most women, being neither noble nor the mother of God, had problems. They were banned from holy orders, could not preach or attend the cathedral schools or universities. They were passed over in succession to fiefs and thrones. The Jewish tradition of the Old Testament, the tradition of Roman literature and Law, the warrior tradition of the Teutons, and the writings of Paul all confirmed that women were to serve men.

In this situation, it is not surprising that women were prominent heretics. Medieval writers say this was because they were gullible, but modern writers see their rebellion against the male establishment. Women of all classes participated in orthodox, monastic and semimonastic reform movements, many of which were seen as heretical by the Church establishment.

The participation of women in witchcraft may have been exaggerated by antifeminist writers eager to attribute to the female sex the utmost weakness. Malleus Maleficarum reflects the mythic fear of women in men. That fear had been heightened by the suspicious attitudes of Church Fathers toward sexual relations. Virginity was the most desired state and woman was a temptress luring men away from perfection. There were many Christian women, but few were canonized who did not die as virgins. Even motherhood received qualified praise, for the Fathers knew what preceeded it. St. Augustine argued that intercourse, even in marriage, cannot be wholly free from sin. Because of such fear, and because there was a tendency for the will of God and the will of the Church to be one and the same, witchcraft and heresy provided very convenient ways of getting rid of those who dissented.

The persecution of witches is an example of extreme mass reaction to the fear and envy of women. The pamphlet by Ehrenreich and English is a good treatment of the relation of witchcraft to medicine and the evolution of the male medical establishment after (and in reaction to) the embodiment of wisdom in women.

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"Witches and Community: An Anthropological Approach to the History of Witchcraft," Times Literary Supplement. Number 3, October 30, 1970, p. 583.

V. Rape.

See film Rape Culture. Discuss the film, feelings.

1. Seigfried and Brunhilde from The Nibelungenlied, edited by A.T. Hatto. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1965.
2. Lecretia was raped by Sextus Tarquinius and then stabbed herself. Livy, The History of Rome from Its Foundations. I. 46 Baltimore: Penguin, 1976.
3. Zeus approached Leda in the form of a swan (see Oxford Classical Dictionary).
4. Zeus turned into a bull to carry Europa to Crete.
5. Orion tried to rape the Pleiades, seven daughters of Pleione and Atlast, and he turned into constellations.

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Mythological References Which Can Be Studied as Examples of Fear and Envy:

1. In the play Antigone by Sophocles (recommended translation: Richmond and Lattimore), Creon expresses constant anxiety about being bested by a woman. (Lines 484, 525, 740, 746, 756.)

2. The Mexican Moon Goddess. In Brinton, Daniel G. Myths of the Americas: Symbolism and Mysticism of the Indians of America. Blauvelt, NY: Multimedia Publishing Corporation, 1976, p. 139.

3. Vnktahe, Spirit of the Waters and Mistress of Witchcraft (Dakotas) Centeotl. The Aztec Goddess of Maize. Sedna--Eskimo mythology. Tiamet in the Babylonian epic of creation.

4. "A Smart Young Woman" in A Celtic Miscellany, translations from the Celtic literatures. Edited by Kenneth Hurlstone Jackson. Baltimore: Penguin, 1971.

5. Kali. The fearsome mother goddess of India. "The Bone-wreathed Lady of the Place of Skulls." Zimmer H. "The Indian World Mother," The Mystic Vision. Bollingen Series XXX, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968.

6. The custom of Bouvade--see Malinowski.

7. Among the early Costa Ricans, the worst uncleanness is a woman in her first pregnancy. Brinton, Daniel, p. 156.

8. In Wisconsin, the Fox Indian women abstained from sex throughout pregnancy for fear their babies would be born "filthy." See Niethammer, Carole. Daughters of the Earth. The Lives and Legends of American Indian Women. NY: Collier, 1977, p. 3. See Niethammer for menopause taboos, p. 39; and for menstruation taboos, pp. 49-51.

9. In Russia, when people wanted to preserve their village against an epidemic of plague or cholera--at midnight the old women would walk around the village, secretly summoning the other women so that the men knew nothing about it. They would choose nine virgins and three widows who would be let out of the village, there they would undress down to their shifts. The virgins would let down their hair, the widows would cover their heads. They would hitch one of the widows to a plow. The nine virgins would seize scythes while the other women grasped skulls. They would march around the village, howling and shrieking, while they plowed a furrow to permit the powerful spirits of the Earth to emerge, and so kill germs. Any man who met them was killed.

UNIT V. Women's Networks

Introduction

Some people have interpreted the problems of the Women's Movement (both historical and contemporary) in terms of the lack of cohesiveness among women as a political force. Many women are indeed isolated from each other by virtue of the feminine role. Much has been written on competition among women (for the attention of men) which inhibits the growth of friendship. There are those who propose genetic or evolutionary explanations for why men, not women, engage in close social bonding (e.g., Lionel Tiger).

At the same time, many women speak of the profound closeness, comfort and warmth that is experienced when interacting with other women. Even looking at everyday life in suburbia we see coffee klatches, bridge games, over the fence friendships. Historically, too, it is possible to find evidence of more institutionalized forms of women's networks. It is important to explore women's networks because often women define themselves better in interaction with other women than in interaction with men.

This unit is divided into three sections: (1) Historical, Anthropological, and Sociological Perspectives; (2) Informal, Literary and Religious Networks; and (3) Institutional and Organizational Networks. Bibliographies are given within each section, and specific references are occasionally cited within the lecture outline.

Section 1. Historical, Anthropological and Sociological Perspectives

I. Relationships between women in societies where the political and domestic spheres are integrated.

In some societies there is no sharp distinction between the domestic sphere and an extra-domestic political sphere which links or organizes a series of domestic units. Authority is shared between women and men in these societies, despite the occurrence in some of them of sex-based division of labor. These societies exhibit strong female bonding; women cooperate with each other in daily tasks and their strategies for achieving goals do not differ from men's. They have power to control their own lives and do not have to work through men or try to subvert a male political structure to get what they want.

A. The Navahos.

1. Society is matrilineal, structured around female bonds with a tendency toward a uxorilocal residence pattern.
2. Women have close cooperation ties with other female kin; the mother-daughter bond is especially strong.
3. Marriage ties are weak, especially during the early period, largely because of the wife's ties with her own kin.

B. The Eskimos.

1. Society is organized around the nuclear family with the husband dominant.
2. Women have cooperative networks with other women and close ties with female kin.
3. See Briggs, Jean L. Never in Anger. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1970.

C. The Iroquois.

1. Society is matrilocal.
2. Women contribute heavily to the subsistence of the tribe.
3. Women control agricultural production. They also control the economic organization of society and maintain the right to distribute all food, even that obtained by men.
4. Female bonds are strong, and there is little sociability between the sexes.

5. See Brown, Judith, K., "Iroquois Women: An Ethnohistoric Note," Reiter, Rayna R., *Toward an Anthropology of Women*. NY: Monthly Review Press, 1975, pp. 235-251.

D. The !Kung Bushmen.

1. The !Kung are a hunting and gathering society, though some are moving toward a sedentary, agricultural way of life.
2. Women contribute heavily to the subsistence of the group and control what they have gathered. This control is related to the simplicity of the economy, technology and social organization. It is less true among the sedentary groups.
3. Men and women are equal and have many overlapping areas of activity.
4. Women have cooperative networks with one another.
5. The sedentary lifestyle undermines sexual equality.

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The articles in this collection can be quite difficult for the beginning student. While we recommend several of them (here, and in other sections of the course) we also urge teachers to study the collection carefully before making assignments.

Rosaldo, Michelle Zimbalist, "Women, Culture and Society: A Theoretical Overview," *ibid*., pp. 17-52.

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!Kung:

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II. Relationships between women in societies where the political and domestic spheres are related.

In these societies women's situation is much more difficult. Power and authority are vested in a hierarchy of males, and women's methods of achieving goals are political; they must influence the men who hold the power in the society. It is this kind of situation which produces rivalries between women, for example, the conflicts between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law, stemming from the need to achieve power through competing for a man's loyalty. Nevertheless, female bonding occurs under certain circumstances in these societies as well.

A. Women's rivalries in peasant and tribal societies.
    1. In patrilocal extended households political power depends upon the size and cohesiveness of the kin group.
    2. The purpose of exogamous marriage in these societies is to unite previously unconnected households and add to their strength.
    3. Women live in households where they are strangers.
    4. They are in a conflict of interest position vis-a-vis other female members of the household because of their need to achieve power and security by competing with one another to influence men. Wives try to alienate their husbands from their mothers-in-law and to insure the loyalty of their sons.
    5. In polygynous societies co-wives compete with one another.
        a. The Kanuri in Africa have a very high divorce rate. Divorce is a way for women to assert their independence in this society.

6. The Hebrew matriarchs are a good example of this kind of conflict between women and manipulation of men by women. Rebecca's favoring Jacob over Esau exerts a great influence over the history of Israel. She gets her way by deceiving her husband and manipulating her son (Genesis, Chapter 27). The rivalry between Rachel and Leah, who are sisters and co-wives in a patriarchal extended family is central to the narrative about the origin of the twelve tribes (Genesis, Chapters 29-30).
7. Women's political interests are at odds with men's in these societies; men gain power by building an extended family group and women gain power by undermining the group's cohesiveness.
8. Quarrels between the male members of these kin networks are blamed on their women.
9. Men discount women's political roles and attribute their disruptive behavior to personal idiosyncarcies or the general inferiority of the female sex.

B. Female bonding in extra-domestic neighborhood groups.

1. In patrilocal exogamous societies women are frequently in conflict with other women in the household but share common interests with other women in the same situation.
2. Women exert power by molding opinion, by influencing men's decisions. Gossip is a formidable means.
3. These informal communication networks give women power as a group but restrict them as individuals. The idea that they might one day need the group's support functions as a deterrent upon their individual behavior.
4. This kind of power exerted outside the official channels is not a viable substitute for real political power.

C. Women's Trading Associations.

1. Ijaw Women's Association: factors which allow for the formation of women's associations in West Africa.
    a. Patrilocality and virilocality cause women to be separated from their own kin and oriented toward other women.
    b. The women need a means of economic independence to form viable assocaitions. Some Ijaw groups have this base.

2. See particularly Leis, Nancy B., "Women in Groups: Ijaw Women's Association," Rosaldo and Lamphere, pp. 223-242.

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III. Modern Industrial Societies.

In Black American and English working class families women exercise a kind of de facto authority in the domestic sphere because men are absent. In these situations, though, neither men nor women exert power in the political sphere nor do they have access to economic resources.

A. Black families in America.

1. Black males have high rate of unemployment.
2. Black women with children have access to welfare.
3. Households form around women because of their role in child care. Ties between women form the core of networks.
4. Welfare benefits and kinship ties provide more security for black women than black men.
5. Kin networks are strengthened at the expense of any particular male-female bond. Women act to break up relationships which they perceive as draining their resources and men are expected to contribute to the maintenance of their own kin group.
6. Men are economic exploiters of women because of male unemployment and female access to welfare.
7. Women often seek independence in this situation.

8. Black kin networks are characterized by a lack of stability in particular male-female bonds with successive recombinations within a network.

B. The English Working Class.

1. Men are the nominal heads of households.
2. Men are away from home due to long working hours.
3. Mother-daughter ties are the focus of extra-domestic cooperative networks.

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_____, "Urban Families: Conjugal Roles and Social Networks," Human Relations. Volume 8, 1955, pp. 345-384.

Young, Michael and Willmott, Peter. Family and Kinship in East London. London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1957.

IV. Mothers and Daughters.

The personality of any woman is strongly influenced by her relationship with her mother, and mother-daughter relationships are deeply affected by cultural conditions. The nature of the relationship has varied enormously throughout the ages. It is molded by a variety of forces and is very much affected by social change. The Amazon myths describe a society where mothers related positively only to their female children, refusing to raise male children and having no more contact with males beyond what was necessary to perpetuate the society. In the myth of Demeter and Kore, the mother-daughter identification is extremely strong, possibly reflecting a matriarchal period in Greek history. In patriarchal societies, on the other hand, the birth of a female child has frequently been regarded to varying degrees as a disaster, even by the mother. Mothers have endured and participated in the exposing of their female infants in some societies. Greek mythology and literature of the patriarchal period provide examples of intense hatred between mother and daughter in the story of the house of Atreus and Aeschyleus' treatment of it. The goddess Athena is totally lacking in female identification, as she asserts in giving her judgement at the end of the Aeschylean trilogy.

But even under patriarchy, the mother-daughter bond has been extremely strong. In India, Havik Brahmins lavish an extraordinary degree of affection upon their female offspring, which they explain as compensation for the hardships their daughters will have to endure as adult women in their society. The mother-daughter bond was also very strong in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in this country. Daughters were socialized almost exclusively by their mothers, spending most of their working and leisure hours in the company of mothers, female kin, and other women. The lives of one generation of women were not significantly different from those of the previous generation. In the twentieth century, however, women began to have opportunities which their mothers had not had, and the strength of the mother-daughter bond was undermined. The position of women under patriarchy has always made mother-daughter relationships complicated, although it has created extremely strong identification under some circumstances. The dependence which has resulted from this has not always been healthy and sometimes the relationship has been ridden with a great deal of ambivalence and conflict.

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Broner, R.M. Her Mothers. NY: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, 1975.

Chodorow, Nancy, "Family Structure and Feminine Personality," Rosaldo and Lamphere, pp. 43-66.

Hammer, Signe. Daughters and Mothers, Mothers and Daughters. NY: Signet, 1975.

Rich, Adrienne. Of Woman Born: Motherhood as Experience and Institution. NY: W.W. Norton, 1976.

As a part of this unit, students might want to discuss their relationships with their own mothers and/or daughters.

A. Mother-daughter bonds in matrifocal societies.

  1. The mother's role has a very high valuation. She is the center of the household and makes important economic contributions to it.

Section 2. Informal, Literary and Religious Networks

I. Informal Networks

A. Female Friendships

Intimate friendships between women, both women who were related to each other and women who were not, flourished in the United States in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These relationships, which we know about from the diaries and correspondence which some of these women left, appear to be qualitatively different from the kind of friendships most women experience in this society today. At that time Victorian morality imposed severe restrictions upon relationships between the sexes. Courtship was a very formal process and men and women generally were little better acquainted with each other at the end of it than they had been at the beginning. As a result, marriage was often a surprise and a disappointment, particularly for women. In these circumstances women often looked to one another for the deep relationships which they were unable to achieve with men. This intimacy was by and large more socially acceptable than it is today.

1. Women were confined to the home; they had their own sphere which was completely separate from men's and spent much time in each other's company.
2. Mother-daughter relationships provided an apprenticeship period for young women learning adult roles. These relationships were emotionally intimate and gave the women a life long support system.
3. Women also had strong emotional ties with non-resident female kin, such as aunts, cousins and nieces.
4. Women helped one another with domestic chores and in times of crisis.
5. Visiting among women was an institution; women went to one another's homes daily and spent extended periods visiting one another without spouses or other family members being included.
6. The rituals surrounding rites of passage such as marriage, childbirth and death were women's rituals. Men's participation was kept to a minimum.

7. Young women went to boarding schools and made friendships there, frequently with daughters of their mothers' women friends.

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Isabel Miller. Patience and Sarah. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969.

Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations Between Women in Nineteenth Century America," Signs, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 1-29, 1975.

B. Lesbianism

This topic is covered under sexuality but some discussion of it could be included here as it relates to the kind of relationships dealt with in the previous section and pertains to some of the material in the following section. The novel Patience and Sarah would be useful for this discussion since it deals with a lesbian friendship in this cultural context.

C. Literary Networks

Friendships and social connections among writers, artists, and other creative individuals have been a common occurrence throughout history. Sometimes these relationships have led to the formation of more or less organized groups, occasionally centering around a particular individual. Personalities who are attracted to literary people, who seek their society and stimulate interaction among them, have been numerous as well. At various times women have participated in these associations in different ways. This section explores a development in literary networking among women. The section on the salons in France shows women participating as leaders in a movement which primarily involved men. There was more woman to woman interaction in the Blue-stocking movement, where the salons were frequented by males and females. The tone of later salons was very different, and most of the remaining sections deal with literary networking exclusively among women. The instructor will probably want to lecture briefly on this material.

1. The salons in eighteenth century France
   a. They were directed by women who were unmarried, widowed, or did not live with their husbands.
   b. The women of these salons were recognized as intellectual equals by men and there were many intellectual friendships between men and women at this time.

c. Authorship by women was taboo; what writing they did was not intended for publication or was published anonymously, for example, Mme. De LaFayette's La Princesse de Cleves.

d. Women were important primarily as hostesses; they gave male writers and philosophers opportunities to stimulate one another. Their role as catalysts was crucial.

e. The salons were very influential in the development of French literature and they created an intellectual atmosphere which contributed to the revolution.

2. The Bluestockings

a. More women were entertained in the English salons; women were guests as well as hostesses.

b. Intimate friendships existed among some of these women, for example Mrs. Vesey, Mrs. Carter, and Mrs. Montague; Mrs. Chapone, Mrs. Carter, and Mrs. Delaney.

c. Unlike their French counterparts, who were hampered by social restraints, some of the Bluestocking women were writers. Examples of their work include: Mrs. Montague's Essay on Shakespeare and her contributions to Lord Lyttleton's Dialogues of the Dead; Mrs. Delaney's Letters on the Improvement of the Mind, Fanny Burney's novels, Mrs. Chapone's Letters to Her Niece, and Mrs. Carter's translation of Epictetus.

3. The Transcendentalists

Transcendentalism was a literary movement in New England in the early part of the nineteenth century. The Transcendentalists had close social connections with each other and women participated actively in their gatherings. Margaret Fuller was an important person in this movement. She contributed to networking among the Transcendentalists with her West Street (Boston) conversations. She was interested in educating other women and held gatherings for this purpose. She was involved in the Brook Farm experiment, where the Transcendentalists attempted to apply their theories in practice.

4. The Belle Epoque: Natalie Clifford Barney, Renee Vivien, Colette

a. There were numerous salons in Paris in the period just before World War I which were predominantly women's salons.

b. Renee Vivien (Anglo-American poet who lived in France and wrote in French) and Natalie Clifford Barney (American, had a salon in Paris) made several attempts to establish colonies of women, one on Lesbos and one in France.

c. Barney appeared as a character in the works of several authors whom she knew. She was Flossie in Liane de Pougy's Idylle saphique, the amazon in Remy de Gourmont's Lettres a l'amazone, Laurette in Lucie Delarue-Mardrus' L'Ange et les pervers, Evangeline Musset in Djuna Barnes' Ladies Almanack and Valerie Seymour in Radclyffe Hall's The Well of Loneliness.

5. Bloomsbury: Virginia Woolf and Victoria Sackville-West. See Quentin Bell, Virginia Woolf: A Biography, London: Hogarth Press, 1972; Nigel Nicolson, Portrait of a Marriage. New York: Bantam Books, 1973; and Virginia Woolf's Diaries. Readings could also include some of Virginia Woolf's works, perhaps Orlando and Mrs. Dalloway.

6. Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas: Rue de Fleurus. Q.E.D., A Long Gay Book.

D. Early Nineteenth Century Reform Movements and the Women's Movement: Feminist Friendship Networks

In the first half of the nineteenth century, America was the scene of a great religious revival, out of which sprang a variety of movements for social reform. Women participated extensively in these movements. The religious experience, common to women who were affected by the revival, gave them the impetus to break out of traditional roles. Their sensitivity to slaves' oppression stimulated them to think about their own oppression. Moreover, the blindness of the male reformers to women's oppression and the harsh public reaction to female social activism provided a dramatic demonstration of the need for women's rights. Participation in abolitionism and the other reform movements also gave women a great deal of experience in organizing and in public speaking. Women also formed friendships with one another through these activities. These friendships were very important in shaping the early feminist movement. The contemporary women's movement also sprang up in the aftermath of a period of social activism. This phenomenon may suggest that when women work with men to bring about social change, they tend to develop a cohesiveness among themselves.

1. Lucretia Mott and the Grimke sisters were key figures in the abolutionist movement. Mott was a mentor to the Grimkes.

2. Lucy Stone and Antoinette Brown worked together in several reform movements and became feminists together. They married two brothers who shared their interests.

3. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony differ from other feminists of this period, who generally had supportive husbands. Anthony never married and Stanton's marriage was unhappy. The two women were mutually supportive in this situation. They worked closely together in the women's rights' struggle, so closely that the relationship could be described as mutually interdependent.

4. A split developed between the Stanton-Anthony New York wing of the movement and the New England feminists. Stanton and Anthony were in some ways more radical; they were more interested in sexual emancipation, in making drastic changes in the relations between the sexes, and they also became involved in issues besides women's issues.

5. The Woman's Bible, published in 1895, is a lengthy feminist exegesis of the Old and New Testaments which Stanton edited. The project was essentially Stanton's, though there were a large number of other participants in various parts of it at different times. The varying responses to the religious issue here reveals something about the networking phenomenon in the feminist movement over two generations. The Bible project primarily reflects the interests of the first generation of feminists, and Stanton in particular, who broke with traditional religious doctrines. Stanton retained an interest in these issues longer than many of her colleagues and she experienced great difficulty generating and sustaining interest in the project. Many feminists lost interest in the Bible and felt that it had no relevance to the women's movement. Others, including a new generation who had not experienced the enthusiasm of the earlier revival, were too traditional in their religious orientation to support it.

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Pritchard, Linda K., "The Woman's Bible: Women in Religion in Historical Context," Women and Religion 1973 Proceedings, Joan Arnold Romero, ed., American Academy of Religion, Tallahassee, Fla.: Florida State University, 1973.

Rossi, Alice, "A Feminist Friendship: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony" in The Feminist Papers from Adams to deBeavuoir, edited by Alice Rossi, New York: Bantam Books, 1974, pp. 378-399.

The instructor will probably want to lecture on this material and possibly assign a history text, such as Page Smith's Daughters of the Promised Land.

II. Women as Helpers

Women have always provided one another with a variety of supportive services. They have assisted one another with all kinds of everyday tasks and have given much needed help in times of crisis. They have also exhibited a marked tendency to support one another in their efforts toward self improvement.

A. Midwifery: one of the first ways women helped one another at crucial times.

1. While giving birth was an active process, with the parturient woman doing most of the work, birth attendants were midwives.
2. These women were folk healers, who helped women not only in giving birth but also performed abortions sometimes and gave advice on birth control and fertility.
3. The rise of academic medicine undermined the position of the midwife. The discovery of podalic version in the sixteenth century and the invention of the forceps in the eighteenth century brought about male intervention in the birth process. Mothers were no longer in control; they gave birth in more and more passive positions. Midwifery declined and the exclusively male medical profession gradually took over.
4. The church and the medical profession were both against the widwife. The church held that sickness and pain in childbirth were divinely ordained punishment for the sin of Eve. The male academic medical profession protected its developing self interest with a mystique of credentials. Women were not permitted to pursue this professional training.
5. Midwifery survived longer among the lower classes and in backward areas.

6. The modern movement for natural childbirth and home birth:
    a. Hospital births have been shown to have their dangers.
    b. Women are striving to regain control over the birth process.

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Good material on the history of midwifery is fairly scarce. Chapters six and seven in Adrienne Rich's Of Woman Born: Motherhood as Experience and Institution are recommended.

Witches, Midwives, and Nurses: A History of Women Healers by Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English (The Feminist Press, 1973), could be assigned to students.

For the modern movement, there is Immaculate Deception: A New Look at Women and Childbirth in America by Suzanne Arms (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1975) which has a short bibliography on midwifery.

B. Nursing

1. Women were deprived of the primary role they had once had in healing by the development of the modern medical profession.
2. Nursing developed to supplement this profession. While most hospital patients were poor, hospital nurses were not professionally trained and they were often not of reputable character. Doctors made advances in other areas, but did little or nothing to alleviate this problem.
3. The need to revamp the nursing profession provided an outlet for the reforming energies of upper class Victorian women. Here they found a viable role; nursing was a natural and acceptable vocation for "ladies."
4. The Crimean War gave Florence Nightingale and the American Civil War gave Dorothea Dix opportunities to make key contributions in this area.
5. See Hill, Michael, The Religious Order: a Study of Virtuoso Religion and its Legitimation in the Nineteenth Century Church of England. London: Heinemann, 1973, pp. 271-295.

C. Self Help--See the section on Women and Social Change.

D. Education

1. Educational institutions for women sprang up in large numbers in the United States in the first part of the nineteenth century.
2. Utilitarian concepts governed the education of both sexes.
3. The purpose of educating women was to make them fit wives and mothers. It was generally recognized that business concerns kept men away from home and that children were raised almost exclusively by women as a result.
4. Emma Hart Willard established her Troy Seminary in 1821. She convinced the New York legislature that educating women was important for producing virtuous citizens.
5. Catherine Beecher established the Hartford Female Seminary in 1828. She too believed in educating women to help them perform better in nurturing roles.
6. The idea that women were suited to be teachers followed logically from these premises. Educating children in schools was a logical extension of women's role as educators of their own children at home. Women also were well suited to educate other women, to train succeeding generations to follow in the same path.
7. Academies which educated girls exclusively were run by women.
8. It was inevitable that some women's intellectual curiosity would go beyond the prescribed bounds and that they would wish to study law, medicine, and other fields which were considered men's domain.
9. Women's educational institutions provided a network for women to help each other break out of traditional roles.
10. Women in higher education: Women's colleges in this country were largely founded and run by women. Women have also established large numbers of scholarships and fellowships to help other women further their educational goals.

11. Academic women's caucuses have sprung up as part of the contemporary women's movement. Women who have made inroads as professionals in the predominantly male universities in this country and students who are pursuing advanced degrees in these institutions support one another in these groups. See Renner, Marguerite, *et al.*, "Feminist Historians and the History of Women," University of Michigan Papers in Women's Studies. Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 125-132.

12. Educated elites: Marie Souvestre

    Souvestre was headmistress of the Pensionnat des ruches, which Natalie Clifford Barney attended. Dorothy Strachey Bussy also attended this institution and wrote *Olivia*. The heroine is modeled loosely upon Souvestre and the theme is the lesbian network which this institution spawned. Souvestre was also headmistress of Allenswood, which Eleanor Roosevelt attended. See Joseph P. Lash, *Eleanor and Franklin*, NY: Norton, 1971. See also Sklar, Kathryn Kish, *Catherine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity*. NY: Norton, 1973.

E. Monasticism

1. Europe underwent broad political changes in the early middle ages. Women were often displaced socially by this process. Some women found a welcome refuge in monastic institutions.
2. Other women were housed there against their wills, because they were obstacles to the political ambitions of others. This latter situation sometimes led to disturbances within the monasteries.
3. Most of the women who inhabited religious houses during the early period of the monastic movement in Europe were upper class.
4. Noble women at this time had property of their own, which they often used to endow female religious establishments. They frequently retired to these nunneries as widows.
5. The early stage of the monastic movement was characterized by a lack of centralization. This situation, coupled with the economic resources of many of the women who participated in the movement at this stage, enabled women to control their own religious houses to a great extent.

6. A movement to reform monastic institutions took place during the twelfth century. This movement was dominated by male clergy. Women's independence within monastic establishments was sharply curtailed as a result.
7. The rise and fall of the Beguines
    a. The movement consisted primarily of urban women who sought refuge from economic turbulence in community life.
    b. The movement was widespread and the communities varied enormously in their modes of organization. Many Beguines were peasants or artisans.
    c. The movement declined when the church forced the Beguines to obey male authorities.
8. Convents today are very much subject to the authority of a male hierarchy but a liberation movement is going on. See Janice Raymond, "Nuns and Liberation," Andover Newton Quarterly, Vol. 12, No. 4, 201-212, March 1972.

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Clark, Gracia, "The Beguines, A Medieval Religious Community," Quest, Vol. 1, No. 4, pp. 73-80.

Eckenstein, Lina. Woman Under Monasticism: Chapters in Saint Lore and Convent Life Between A.D. 500 and A.D. 1500, New York: Russell and Russell, 1963 (reprint of 1896 edition).

McDonnell, Ernest W., The Beguines and Beghards in Medieval Culture, New York: Octagon Books, 1969.

Power, Eileen. Medieval English Nunneries. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922.

Matossian, Mary Kilbourne, "In the Beginning, God was a Woman," Journal of Social History, Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 325-343. This article discusses Russian peasant women and the cult of the mother goddess in pre-Christian Russia. It offers some hypotheses about women's networking in Russia before the spread of Christianity. Goddess worship in pre-Christian Europe and Russia and its relationship to witchcraft and peasant women's rituals is a fascinating subject. Little is known about it at this time and it would undoubtedly be a fruitful area for further research.

G. Consciousness Raising

1. An individual woman's reassessment of her own personal experience is invariably difficult. This process is much easier if it takes place in a group whose members are undergoing a similar reassessment. The reference group provides support for each individual member.
2. In the process of communicating personal experiences, women discover their common situation.
3. A political perspective is created out of the concrete personal experiences of the group's members.
4. Consciousness raising groups are not formally organized and do not recognize leaders.
5. They spread rapidly through the personal communication of group members with their friends.
6. See particularly Eastman, Paula Costa, "Consciousness Raising as a Resocialization Process for Women," Smith College Studies in Social Work, Vol. 43, No. 3, pp. 153-183.

H. Feminist Therapy

1. Many women have been extremely disappointed with traditional psychotherapy.
2. The Freudian orientation of traditional psychoanalysis is characterized by a basic inability to understand women and women's sexuality.
3. Traditional psychotherapy has focused attention on intrapsychic conflicts rather than societal oppression as the source of women's problems. Women are made to feel responsible for their problems.
4. Traditional psychotherapists subscribe to conventional notions of "normality" and encourage women to try to adjust to traditional roles.
5. Feminist therapists understand the role of socialization in interfering with women's self-realization. They do not regard women's problems necessarily as an indication of "sickness."
6. Feminist therapists support women who want to be assertive and define their own identity.

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Agel, J., The Radical Therapist, New York: Balantine, 1971.

Franks, V., and Burtle, V., Women in Therapy: New Psychotherapies for a Changing Society. New York: Brunner/Mazel, 1974.

Mander, Anica Vesel, and Rush, Anne Kent. Feminism as Therapy. New York: Random House, 1974.

Williams, Elizabeth Friar. Notes of a Feminist Therapist. New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1976.

Section 3. Institutional and Organizational Networks

I. Institutional Networks

Women have created networks within certain societal institutions in order to deal with the male bias and oppression of these institutions.

A. Prostitution--the world's oldest profession.

1. Prostitutes traditionally have never been organized into networks.
2. There are feminist arguments both for and against prostitution. A good reading might be Shaw's *Mrs. Warren's Profession*, including the introduction by Shaw.
3. Recently groups of prostitutes have organized and held conventions (e.g., Coyote). *Ms*. Volume 5, Number 3, September, 1976, has an article on this movement.
4. Readings: refer to the *New Woman's Survival Sourcebook* for references on prostitution, especially readings by Emma Goldman and Kate Millet. *Ms*. Volume 1, Number 12, June, 1973, has an article on "The Economics of Prostitution," p. 59.

B. Prisons.

1. Refer to *New Woman's Survival Sourcebook* pp. 211-213 for references on women in prisons, especially *Women in Prison* by K. Burkhart.

C. Mental Institutions.

1. *Women and Madness* by Phyllis Chessler (Avon Books).
2. Szasz, T., *Manufacture of Madness*.
3. *New Woman's Survival Sourcebook*, p. 63.

D. Military.

II. Organizational Networks.

A. National multi-purpose groups.

1. National Organization for Women
National Office
5 South Wabash
Chicago, Illinois 60603

2. Women's Equity Action League
821 National Press Building
Washington, D.C. 20004

3. American Civil Liberties Union--Women's Rights Project
22 E. 40th Street
New York, New York 10016

4. The Women's Action Alliance
370 Lexington
New York, New York 10017

B. Women's Studies Programs

1. Information on various programs may be obtained from ERIC Clearinghouse on Higher Education, Suite 630, 1 Dupont Circle, Washington, D.C. 20036

2. Also see Who's Who and Where in Women's Studies, T. Berkowitz, J. Mangi, and J. Williamson (editors). Feminist Press, Box 334, Old Westbury, New York 11568.

C. Battered Women's Shelters

See New Woman's Survival Sourcebook, pp. 214-215.

Martin, Dell. Battered Wives. San Francisco: Glide Pub., 1976.

Russell, D. and VandeVen, N. Crimes Against Women: Proceedings of the International Tribunal. Millbrae, California: Les Femmes, 1976.

III. Feminist Movements in the 20th Century

A. For a discussion of issues within the movement (e.g., reform vs. radical; consciousness raising vs. action; socialist vs. capitalist) see the following:

Deekard, B. The Women's Movement. NY: Harper and Row, 1975.

"Reform Tool Kit," Quest. Summer, 1974.

Bunch, C., "Self Definition and Political Survival," Quest. Winter, 1975.

Freeman, Jo, "Tyranny of Structurelessness," Ms. Volume 2, Number 1, July, 1973.

Gornick, V., "Feminist Writers: Hanging Ourselves on a Party Line," Ms. Volume 4, Number 1, July, 1975.

Willis, E., "Economic Reality and the Limits of Feminism," Ms, Volume 1, Number 12, June, 1973.

Joreen, "Trashing: The Dark Side of Sisterhood," Ms. Volume 4, Number 10, April, 1976. The September, 1976 issue has a forum on this article.

Alpert, J., "Mother-right: A New Feminist Theory," Ms. Volume 2, Number 2, August, 1973.

Deming, B., We Cannot Live Without Our Lives. Brossman, 1974. Letter to Jane Alpert. "Women's Consciousness," pp. 169-174.

B. Lesbian Seperatism

1. Redstockings
2. Jill Johnston, Lesbian Nation.

UNIT VI. Individuality

Introduction

The individuality of women is central to the question of women's identity and difficult to discern among the various treatments of the generic and universal WOMAN. The unit begins with a discussion of the philosophical and anthropological analyses which try to discern why women have a "universal" secondary status. The embodiment of this status in theories about women (biological, psychological, etc.) is discussed, as are critiques of this treatment of women. Finally, practically based conceptualizations are discussed in order to see how women's individuality is expressed in the real world (by point or counterpoint). The outline of topics is presented continuously although as many as five lectures can be given from the information. Some sections might be handled via student reports or discussions, others by lectures.

Lecture Outline

I. The Woman as Other

  A. See the Appendix for notes by Janet Farrell Smith based on a reading of the introduction to de Beauvoir's The Second Sex. It is difficult material, but worth working through and can be the basis for a lecture.

  B. Nature vs. Culture
  Sherry Ortner (see bibliography) presents an analysis of the underlying, universal conceptualization of the secondary status of women based on the assumption in

all societies that women are closer to nature. (This analysis is also relevant to the fear and envy section of this course.) A good follow up to de Beauvoir's analyses.

II. Representations in Myth

A. Woman as Other; as Nature

Read sections of the Sixth Satire--"Against Women" (especially lines 306-348). The Satires of Juvenal, translated by Rolfe Humpries. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958.

B. Counterpoint

1. Powerful Women. In Niethammer, pp. 146-163.
2. Among the Iriqoius the chiefs were men. However, at the head of each lineage was an older woman--the matron--who derived her position from her age and her qualities of leadership. She coordinates the economic activities of the female clan members. When a chief died, the matron selected his successor. If a chief's conduct was unsatisfactory, the matron could warn him three times and then ask the council for his deposition.
3. A female sun or "White Woman" in the Natchez tribe (see page 143, Niethammer) was married always to a man of a lower social order who functioned as her servant for life.
4. In the Sinkaietk, a Salish tribe, who lived along the lower Columbia river in Southeast Washington, women were chieftains.
5. Hellenistic Queens. See Grace Macurdy's book by the same name.
6. The myth of the Warrior Girl (Tewa), p. 168 in Niethammer.
7. He-e-e, the Warrior Girl (Hopi), p. 170.
8. Warrior Women, see Niethammer, pp. 167-173.
9. The Valkyries of Odin--female spirits who wear armour, ride on horseback, stir up disorder, fought in battle "choosers of the slain," waited on heroes in Valhalla. See Gods and Myths of Northern Europe, by Ellis Davidson, p. 61.
10. Camilla--Aeneid by Virgil. 7.803; 11.539-829.
11. Cloelia in Livy, The History of Rome From Its Foundations. Book 1, 11.13.

12. Atlanta. Ovid. Metamorphosis. 18.
13. Medea (see plays by Euripides and Seneca. cf., Ovid, Met. VII).
14. Women in the Odyssey: Penelope, Circe, Calypso, Nausicaa, Arete.
15. Artemis--the virgin goddess (see Oxford Classical Dictionary).
16. Antigone (see play by Sophocles).
17. Clytemnestra (see Oreseia by Euripides).
18. Arethusa (Ovid, Met. Book V).
19. Aspasia. Aristophanes, Acharnians. 515-539; Thucydides, Pelopennesian War S 6; Plato's Menexenus 235e-236d, 249d-e.
20. Sappho. Sappho: A New Translation. Edited by Barnard. Berkeley: University of California, 1958. Klaich, Dolores, Woman Plus Woman: Attitudes Toward Lesbianism. NY: Simon and Schuster, 1974.

III. Theory based definitions of women.

A. Biological explanations.
   1. brain differences (Bardwick, Chapter 5).
   2. hormones (Money and Tucker; Rossi).
   3. General (Williams, Chapter 4; Tiger in Roszak and Roszak; Freud in same).

B. Psychological.
   1. Psychoanalytic (Williams, Chapter 2).
      a. Freud
      b. responses to Freud. Students should divide readings in Strouse, Miller, and Chassequet-Smirgel for debates on the issues. These readings apply also to female sexuality.
      c. Erikson.
   2. Social Learning (Mischel).
      a. reinforcement.
      b. modelling.
   3. Cognitive-developmental (Kohlberg in Maccoby, 1966).
   4. General critique of psychological approaches.
      a. historical critique (Shields)
      b. how women fit into psychological literature (Carlson, 1972).
      c. assumptions in models and measurement of sex roles (Tresemer, Constantinople).
      d. simplistic nature of explanations (Bell, Emmerich).

   e. critique of sex difference literature (Maccoby approach, in Maccoby and Jacklin, Bernard).

5. Androgyny as a critique (Bem article in Kaplan and Bean is an excellent summary of her theoretical and empirical work).

6. Critique of androgyny (Raymond; Hefner, et al.)

7. Sex roles across the life cycle
   - a. empirical--Urberg, et al.; Ryff, et al.
   - b. Neugarten--especially thoughts on psychological effects of menopause

C. Feminist theory

1. Quest, volume 1, Number 3 has several good articles on how women might come to have an identity of their own.

2. Radicalesbians: The Woman Identified Woman.

3. Issues:
   - a. need for separatism
   - b. where does lesbianism fit in?
   - c. where does politics fit in?

4. Masturbation (see unit on sexuality; references include: Barback, L., For Yourself. NY: Doubleday, 1974; and Dodson, B., Liberating Masturbation.

IV. Cultural Definitions

A. See feminism above

B. Art: Cohen on choreography; Judy Chicago (in addition to autobiography, has good section on history of women artists, p. 146).

C. Literature

1. The Great American Bitch

2. Compare Save Me the Waltz by Zelda Fitzgerald and Tender is the Night by F. Scott Fitzgerald.

3. Play by Childress

4. Judy Chicago, Chapter 8.

D. Women in Pop Culture

1. advertising

2. media

V. Behavior

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. How does research on individual differences reinforce public stereotypes?

2. What are the underlying assumptions about women in psychological research and where do they come from?

3. How can these assumptions be challenged when women are so thoroughly socialized by them and they are embedded within the whole system?

4. How well does psychological theory reflect actual behavior--yours, for example?

5. What does it mean to be a woman-identified woman? How is it different from being sex-typed feminine or cross sex-typed? Can a heterosexual woman be woman-identified?

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de Beauvoir
Ortner
Money and Tucker
Williams
Bardwick

Erikson
Kohlberg
Carlson
Bem
Hefner, *et al*.

Raymond
Quest
Cohen
Chicago
Tavris and Offir, Chapters 2 and 6

UNIT VII. Women and Social Change

Introduction

It is a common complaint that history has overlooked women and has not explored how movements of great social change have affected women. If rewritten to include both sexes (and that is beginning, we hope) the story of the advancement of humanity would take on a completely different character. As Joan Kelly-Gadol has noted, the movements may not look so progressive:

> "For women, 'progress' in Athens meant concubinage and confinement of citizen wives in the gynaceum. In Renaissance Europe it meant domestication of the bourgeois wife and escalation of witchcraft persecution which crossed class lines. And the Revolution expressly excluded women from its liberty, equality, and 'fraternity.' Suddenly we see these ages with a new, double vision--and each eye seems a different picture."[1]

Women have moved along the road to progress unknown by historians yet in the process they have not always been mute. More often than not they have been instrumental in effecting changes in society and they have developed personally, both individually and collectively. In this unit we will attempt to examine some of the changes that have affected women's identity, both positively and negatively. We will explore women's relationships with others--male and female--and we will explore the relationships women have had with society. We are seeking to understand when, how and why women's identity has changed in response to social change.

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[1] Kelly-Gadol, Joan. "The Social Relation of the Sexes: Methodological Implications of Women's History," Signs. Summer 1976, Volume 1, No. 4, pp. 809-923.

Sections two and three of this unit include much historical information, from which teachers should select relevant material. The emphasis should be plaqed on understanding the moods and the concepts that created an atmosphere for change at various phases of history together with the causes that shaped women's reaction.

Lecture Outline

Section 1. Powerful Women: Matriarchy and Matrilineality

I. Definitions

A. Matriarchy--a society in which women exercise more power than men; a society in which women control policy making and economic resources.

B. Matrilineality--a society in which descent is figured through the female, not the male; property passes through the woman; children take their mother's names, not their fathers; the concept of illegitimacy is irrelevant. In many of these societies found today, power is exercised by a male who derives it by being related by blood to a woman.

C. Matrifocal societies-societies in which the mother role is culturally elaborated, valued, and structurally central.

D. Matrilocal--a society in which the man goes to the woman's household when he married, and not vice versa.

E. Explanation of how these definitions overlap. Different aspects of a society may be matriarchal; the status of women may differ drastically in two societies both with matrilineal descent; there is no necessary correlation between matrilineality and the higher status of women.

II. Theories and myths.

A. Motherright. In the 19th century classical scholars such as J.J. Bachofen formulated a theory of matriarchy which supposedly preceded patriarchal structures (cf., Briffault, James, Morgan, Robert Graves, Jacquetta Hawkes). This theory was discredited, for many scholars pointed out that Bachofen et al., had confused matrilineal societies with matriarchal societies. W.K. Lacey and other established classicists dismiss the matriarchal theory as being impossible, while other scholars (perhaps more objectively) declare that the evidence in many cases does not support existence of either patriarchy or matriarchy.

B. Legend of the Amazons. Greek mythology contains persistent myths concerning a group of warrior women who lived without men. They propagated the tribe by copulating periodically with men. They then kept the female children, and either gave away the male, or crippled them and kept them as servants.

Readings:

Aeschylus. Prometheus Bound. pp. 723-725.

Pliny the Elder. Naturalis Historia. 6:19.

Apollonius Rhodius. Aronautica. 2.385 ff.

Iliad. 6.186; 3.189.

Plutarch. Lives. Theseus. 26

Herodotus. Histories, Book IV, pp. 107-119.

C. Knossos and Minoan civilization. Little is known about the Minoan society which flourished from about 2000 B.C. to 1400 B.C. on the island of Crete. It was a flourishing sea power. whose products scateered throughout the Aegean, and whose colonies included Thera, Rhodes, and others. It was the center of a matrifocal religion in which various female deities held sway. In visual media, women were shown in religious processions, sports, and other activities indicating the relatively high status of women. There is no evidence of who held the power in Minoan society and this has led many feminists and scholars to speculate on the possible existence of a matriarchal or matrilineal system in Crete.

D. Other evidence.

1. Lycians--see Herodotus who describes the Lycians taking their mother's names.
2. Etruscans--tned to be a 'mystery' culture, but most scholars agree that women had a prominent role in the society, and that descent was matrilineal.
3. "Primitive" societies existing today. See Malinowski.
4. Hopi and Iroquois. See Niethammer.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Would there be a difference in women's attitudes towards themselves in a culture that worshipped a female deity and whose religion glorified female strength and power?
2. How much evidence is there for a matriarchal stage of history?
3. What connection is there between patriarchy and the concept of "legitimate" children?
4. What do you think is the explanation for the persistence of the Amazon motif in Greek art and mythology?
5. Suggested paper topics: construct a matriarchal society, describing economic structure, marriage customs, family life, rearing of children, work roles, etc.

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Section 2. Historical Notes on the Women's Rights Movement and Social Feminism

This section explores the forces that brought about changes in the 19th century together with a study of how those new experiences acted as a catalyst for the expression of discontent and injustice. The materials outlined here are dense and complex. The teacher will need to focus her lecture on one or two important themes. We suggest particularly that she demonstrate how the movement for women's rights is connected to other reform movements.

A. Theories on the origins of discontent. (See bibliography: O'Neill, Chapter 1; Freeman, Chapter 1; Cott, Bird, Carroll.)

1. Libertarian sentiment from French and American Revolutions influenced everyone's thoughts.
2. Philippe Aries' theory that the family turned inward and required more of women after the 16th century. This in turn took away her freedom. See Kathleen Casey's article (in Carroll) for historical background on women at this time.
3. The reform spirit was prevalent in U.S. thinking.
4. Numerous forces were creating change.
    a. industrialization
    b. urbanization
    c. displacement of female functions out of home
    d. education
    e. changing values
5. A leisure class developed with time for ideas and volunteer activities and at the same time a working class was being exploited.

B. Origins (Rowbotham, Flexner, Freeman, Kraditor, Rossi, Beaver and Carroll)

1. Mary Wollstonecraft writes, "A Vindication of the Rights of Women," 1792.
2. Abigail Adams suggests to her husband that he "remember the ladies."
3. The reform movement is reflected in Godey's Lady's Book, petitioning for married woman's property laws, and Margaret Fuller's "Women in the 19th Century."

4. The abolition movement develops a network of people interested in the reform spirit which in turn develops an awareness of inequality for women.
5. Women, joined together with mutual concerns for reform, discover a need for reform in regard to women.
6. The growing awareness of educational reform for women begins to create a network of educated women (Lerner, O'Neill and Flexner).

C. Barriers to Progress

1. Public sentiment is overwhelmingly negative (Kraditor).
2. The Civil War draws attention away from the women (O'Neill, Flexner, Kraditor).
3. Abolitionists insist on franchisement for black men as a separate issue, thus delaying the woman's issue.
4. The issues of priorities and tactics were argued and often caused divisions among women.
5. Women were disadvantaged politically, educationally and legally.
6. The majority of women opt for traditional values in many crucial respects (Casey in Carroll).
7. Working women were too involved in pressing problems of daily life to take up social reform issues (Gordon and Buhle in Carroll).

D. Growth of Suffrage (O'Neill, Flexner, Kraditor)

1. The 15th amendment draws attention to the women's issue.
2. Western territories such as Wyoming and Utah allow the vote to women, creating an atmosphere of hope plus a chance to test reality.
3. The women rally together to demonstrate and exert legal and political pressures influencing legislators as well as the general public.
4. 1876 Woman's Declaration is further evidence of a growing sentiment.
5. The Anthony Amendment is introduced to Congress in 1878 and finally debated in 1887.

E. The Growth of Social Feminism.

1. Industrialization created an emphasis on wealth and poverty which affected women of both spectrums in unique ways.

2. Wealthier women exert pressure on industry by the creation of the Consumers League.
3. Settlement houses grow out of the need for women of the leisure class to be useful and productive. The spirit of reform gives them a consciousness of the discrepancies in some women's lives.
4. Women's prisons and asylums and their reform are aided by Dorothea Dix.
5. Reform of alcohol becomes a strong evangelical crusade. Women's victimization helps create the Women's Christian Temperance Union.
6. Child labor and its abuses provokes women into even further organizing and fighting for reform.

F. Unification and success

1. More western states allow women the vote and the issue is debated east of the Mississippi.
2. The profile of 20th century women changes and with it the attitudes towards them also change.
    a. More women work and there is more awareness of their condition.
    b. The ranks of educated women are growing.
3. The Congressional Union is formed and dedicates itself to an all-out campaign for passage of a federal suffrage movement.
4. In 1914 Congress is again given the opportunity to vote on the Anthony Amendment.
5. Carrie Chapman Catt assumes the presidency of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Her trained and efficient staff were major aids to a better organized attack.
6. World War I creates an atmosphere that demands women's assistance. Their competence and efficiency placed them in an even better position.
7. January 10, 1918.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. Was the 19th century oppression of women so unusual that the struggle for their rights was inevitable at that time?

2. Or, was there a unique life style in the 19th century that focussed attention on injustice?

3. Or, was there something unique about women in the 19th century?

4. What methods employed by women suffragists and reformists were effective? What methods were most ineffective? Why?

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*Especially recommended for students

Section 3. Women's Participation in Social Movements Throughout History

This section explores the effects of these movements on women, their associates, their work, and their families.

A. Puritan Revolution (Rowbotham, Ch. 1, and Carroll)

  1. Moral improvements and development of inner spirit. Democratic thinking and its implications for women counteracted by restricted participation in government.

  2. Ann Hutchinson's insubordination.

B. French Revolution. Ideas of enlightenment but ambiguity about liberty, fraternity and equality for women (Rowbotham, Ch. 2-5).

  1. Rousseau and the aim of education for women.

  2. 1789 Petition of the Assembly by revolutionary feminists.

  3. Women demand better medical provisions, improved education, and protection of trades, plus petitioning about divorce and prostitution and marching to Versailles.

C. Russian Revolution (Rowbotham, Ch. 3-6, Tavris and Offir, Ch. 9)

  1. Marx and Engel's ideas regarding women and family.

  2. Russian women before the revolution.
     a. Working class and pregnancies
     b. Subordination of women at work and at home
     c. Middle class women protected and educated

  3. After the revolution.
     a. April 1918 Petrograd Council of Trade Unions
     b. Women become essential and equal at work
     c. Department for the Protection of Motherhood and Infancy.
     d. Transformation of family. Legal domination by man abolished.
     e. 1919 Working and Peasant Women's Department of the Communist Party (GENOTDEL). To instruct women and keep them active.
     f. Participation in War.
     g. Party Leader's commitment to women. The understanding that women should be relieved from housework and reproduction.
     h. Emphasis on equality and family reconstruction.

4. Russia today.
    a. Abortion, birth control and divorce.
    b. Right to work.
    c. Welfare facilities for children.
    d. Rise in education.
    e. Male dominance persists in family, leadership, jobs and education.
    f. Class inequalities.
    g. Relationships between the sexes reevaluated.
    h. Effects on marriage and children.

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Especially recommended for students:

Tavris and Offir
Rowbotham
Selections from Lerner
Selections from Baxandall, etc.

Section 4. The Women's Movement as a Social Movement Since 1960

"A healthy discontent is the first step to progress."
(Emerson)

In the 1960's the Women's Movement took on a new dimension by excelerating its progress and up-dating the causes begun in the 19th century. The changes created by its momentum encompassed a wide spectrum of political, economic, personal, and interpersonal dimensions.

A. Definition of social movements (Freeman and Oberschall).

   1. Successful movements--point of intersection between personal and social change.
   2. Socialized conflict.
   3. People involved are not part of policy making process.
   4. A movement is a vehicle to influence policy makers.
   5. "Social strain does not create social movements, it only creates potential movements." Necessary ingredients include:
      a. Spontaneity and organization.
      b. Pre-existing communications network of like minded participants and a crisis or strain or an organizing cadre of one or more persons.
      c. A center or periphery.

B. Causes of Social Movements.

   1. Significant alterations in life conditions. Population changes; social catastrophe such as war, flood or famine; or economic depression or economic growth (Klein).
   2. Industrialization, urbanization, new forms of politics, increased wealth or productivity (Cott).

C. Theories on the causes of the 1960 Women's Movement.

   1. Klein feels that more women worked, had fewer children and social mobility and economic necessity also contributed.
   2. Jo Freeman lists specific contributory activities.
      a. The Depression
      b. World War II-LanHam Act.
      c. 1950's shortage of women--forcing employers to hire older women and creating more working mothers.

- d. Momism and feelings of guilt.
- e. Civil Rights Movement.
- f. Birth decline.
- g. Educated women increasing.
- h. Women workers increasing.
- i. Increased number of women with incomes of their own.
- j. Work distribution created wider range of women's activities.
- k. Deprivation and expectation created discontent.
  - 1. Black women's experiences with deprivation and expectations were not unique and made them not necessarily receptive to the Women's Movement.
  - 2. Deprivation for women creates powerlessness meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation and self-estrangement.

3. Birdsall points out that contraception and higher status jobs influenced the Movement.

D. Origins of the Women's Movement in the 1960's.

1. President's Commission on the Status of Women, 1961, created by Kennedy and helps establish a female network.

2. Betty Friedan writes "The Feminine Mystique," 1963.

3. Women's activities in the Civil Rights Movement emphasize the inequities of their own sex.

4. The addition of 'Sex' to Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act starts out as a joke but ends up a catalyst (see Bird also).

5. National Organization for Women created by Betty Friedan and others.

6. Local level organizations of women mushroom throughout the country.

7. E.R.A. is brought out as a major issue for feminists.

E. What is unique about the Women's Movement?

1. Symbiotic relationships between feminists (Freeman).
   - a. Common ideas shared--differences complimentary not divisive.
   - b. New ideas shared through public media and feminists.
   - c. Interlocking informal communications.

2. Relationships between movement and policy traditionally one-way in which social movement affected public opinion which affected policy. Resources also used here to pressure, provide information, ideas, help, provide publicity and people (Freeman).

3. Women, although not a minority, behave in a manner that is typical of minority groups (Hacker).
4. Television helped advertise the movement and bring it to focus.
5. The pill gave women another choice almost immediately.
6. Women are concerned about the use of power and have equated it with men and dominance. Their desire to find alternatives, or at least a better definition of power has created some unique problems. Their experiences in the Civil Rights Movement and radical groups of the sixties creates a sensitivity to dominance.
    a. Transforming power to mean energy and initiative (Harstock).
    b. Understanding power and the power of powerlessness (Carroll).

F. How the Women's Movement has been instrumental in bringing about political changes that have improved women's condition.

1. Equal Pay Act.
2. Title VII and Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.
3. Executive Order 11375 and the Higher Education Campaign.
4. The 92nd Congress.
    a. Comprehensive Health Manpower Training Act of 1971.
    b. Nurses Training Act of 1971.
    c. Child Development Act.
    d. Revenue Act 1971.
    e. ERA
    f. Education Amendment Act (Title IX).
    g. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights extended to sex discrimination.
    h. A bill equalizing employment benefits for married women federal employees.
5. ERA

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. What was unique about the 1960's that contributed to the rebirth of the Women's Movement?
2. Were there similarities between the causes of the 1960's Movement and the 19th century struggle?

3. What significant contributions has the Women's Movement made to society?

4. Compare women's involvement with Civil Rights in the 1950's and 1960's with their involvement in the Abolition Movement in the 19th century. What are similarities and differences?

5. Why have women been able to accomplish so many social reforms within the last 10-15 years?

6. Why has the ERA been so difficult to pass?

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Especially recommended for students:

Freeman
Harstock
Lerner
Hacker

Section 5. New Awareness and Self Determination

The Women's Movement has been instrumental in creating a new awareness on the part of contemporary women that is expressed in unique ways. Networks of communications and educational literature have fanned out across the country, developing and encouraging change on a personal basis as well as on a social and political basis. The emphasis has been on independence and self-determination. This section is a study of some of the methods used to foster these qualities.

A. Consciousness Raising--Rap Groups: Informal group discussions.

   1. Bringing women together in structured interaction.
   2. Altering participants' perceptions and conceptions.

B. Assertiveness Training. Assertiveness is an honest, direct and appropriate expression of one's feelings and beliefs in which one stands up for legitimate interpersonal rights without violating the rights of others. A major component in the process of self-growth and self-actualization whereby a person functions effectively in personal assertiveness. Assertiveness training is called for to increase self acceptance, raise self concept, and aid in the process of self growth.

   1. It helps participants to identify interpersonal rights.
   2. It overcomes blocks to acting assertively.
   3. It develops high quality assertive behaviors which are also empathic.

C. Women are directing their attention to methods of controlling and stemming abuses to their bodies that come from traditional male views of women as possessions. Attention is paid to self-defense and female networks which provide services.

   1. Abortion (Our Bodies, Ourselves).
   2. Rape (Brownmiller, Griffin, Our Bodies, Ourselves).
   3. Wife Abuse (Langley & Levy, Martin).

D. Lesbian Separatism (Johnston, Falk).

E. The traditional concepts and practices regarding women's reproductive abilities and rights as well as her sexuality are undergoing a transitional period as women begin to question the past and acquire knowledge about themselves. More and more they are insisting on a woman's rights in these matters as well as asserting a woman's knowledge.

1. Reproduction (Lerner, Our Bodies, Ourselves, Gordon, Scully & Bart).
2. Sexuality (Rossi, Mason, Tavris & Offir, Scully & Bart, Gordon).

F. Physical Fitness and Competition. Women have been out of the mainstream of physical activities in the past. Now there is a growing awareness of women's athletic capabilities and women have learned about the benefits and joys of such activities. Title IX sets a pace for improved opportunities for girls in the schools and together with the impetus of professional women athletes, more and more women are seeking to develop healthier and stronger bodies.

G. Personal Change through work and education. As women move into the labor force, they find themselves confronted with a change in their attitudes about themselves. At the same time the attitudes of their associates at home and at work are also undergoing some change. These changes affect future attitudes.

1. Working females have a more positive view of females (Klein).
2. Professional women tend to remain single (Havens).
3. The need for women workers economically (Oppenheimer).

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Analyze the two Rossi articles, focusing on the differences in the authors' perspectives and conclusions. Do you agree with the changes?

2. Do the changes in women's attitudes toward assertiveness, sports activities and self-defense represent an imitation of men's behavior?

3. Is self-growth and self-actualization a necessary part of women's need to become viable members of the world community?

4. Or, should the emphasis be on changing men's conceptions of women?

5. Are women concentrating on their weaknesses or their strengths in this desire for self help and personal change?

6. Can you suggest other areas for improvement of the self that women are neglecting?

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Especially recommended for students:

Brownmiller, Chapters 6 and 12.

Freeman, Chapter 4.

Our Bodies, Ourselves, Chapters 1, 2, 3.

Both Rossi articles

Tavris, Chapter 3.

APPENDIX I

Questions on de Beauvoir's

Analysis of Reciprocal Need Oppression

(1) de Beauvoir's Thesis on Oppression of Women in THE SECOND SEX.

One interpretation of de Beauvoir's central thesis, based on her Introduction to The Second Sex, consists in the definition of woman as 'the other' by man, the essential and dominant subject. de Beauvoir appears to take man, the dominant "master" on the model of the "lord or master" of Hegel's "master/slave dialectic" in the Phenomenology of Mind. According to Hegel, the master defines the nature and status of the subjugated "slave" or "servant" as "the other" and relegates the slave to a thing-like existence. Master and slave, however, are united by a 'reciprocal need' in which each depends on the other, albeit in an unequal manner. de Beauvoir says: "Here is to be found the basic trait of woman: she is the other in a totality of which the two components are necessary to one another," (Introduction, p.xxiii). Man the subject defines woman the object, woman the other. One major question here is: who is 'the man' and who is the woman? When de Beauvoir introduces this duality, from what standpoint does she speak? Several possibilities can be considered here.

(2) On What Level Does the Subject-Object Duality Between Man-Woman Occur?

Can we isolate the precise sense in which de Beauvoir thinks woman gets defined as 'the other'? Is there a crucial and fundamental locus of this definition in the process of man-woman relations? Consider each of the following in turn. (a) Psychological Level: The origin of 'woman as other' occurs in the psychological relations between men and woman as exemplified in Mauriac's paternalism, listening to women with a "tone of polite indifference." Also, "the most mediocre of men feels himself a demigod as compared with women." Is this the crucial level? No: de Beauvoir cannot mean that it is only the psychological level at which the definition of woman as 'the other' takes place. She cites economic and legal discrimination. Moreover, the "vast majority of men make no such claim explicitly." So the oppression is not only at this level. It must mean something more. (b) Sexual Level: i.e., sexual relations between men and women? No: This cannot be the crucial level since even women who are isolated and/or celibate (abstaining from sexual relations with men) suffer from the generalized economic, legal and social oppression of women. (c) Historical Level: Is the definition of woman as other an historical phenomenon? No: de Beauvoir explicitly rules this out when she says "throughout history (women) have always been subordinated to men, and hence their dependency is not the result of a historical event or social change. It was not something that occurred." (p.xxi) Moreover, the "absolute" nature of otherness "lacks the contingent ... nature of historical facts." (d) Economic Level: de Beauvoir says that the oppression of women economically has a 'caste-like' character. Can it be this level which is crucial? No: Since the economic position of women is historically conditioned, it is contingent, and hence cannot be crucial for same reasons as above. No: for legal discrimination and oppression as well, for same reasons. (e) Social or Sociological Level: Can the definition of woman as other be located at the level of social relations and given a sociological analysis? No: For same reasons as (c) and (d), it is not this alone. In addition, since most particular men do not make the explicit claims on the otherness of woman, the dimension of which de Beauvoir speaks, which must be universal, cannot be found only on the social level. It may only rarely come to the surface of social relations in certain cases, e.g., upper class women. Yet she claims the 'alterity of woman' still exists.

QUESTION: IF THE DEFINITION OF WOMAN AS OTHER TAKES PLACE FUNDAMENTALLY AT NONE OF THESE LEVELS, WHAT IS ITS ORIGIN AND NATURE?

(3) On What Level Does the Definition of Woman as 'The Other' Take Place?

de Beauvoir seems to be saying that there is another level of human interaction where even economic class or caste is merely an effect, not a cause of oppression. She says "Otherness is a fundamental category of human thought." She implies that its permutations can be seen in the subjugation of 'working-class' by bourgeoisie, of 'Jew' by Christian, of Negro by White (in U.S.) or of Vietnamese by French (or American). The difference between all these forms of oppression and the oppression of women is that women are not a minority and are diffused, lack a sense of history of their own, are not ghettoized but are isolated so as to fail to unite into a subjective unity, and fail to organize as a 'coherent' unit against another oppressive unit.

de Beauvoir might be suggesting that in the case of women, a fundamental motive of human interaction is played out on all the levels (a)-(e) mentioned above. This basic motive of human interaction, it seems, is a struggle for freedom or liberty. At the end of the Introduction she says she takes the viewpoint of 'existentialist ethics.' But if we look carefully at what preceded her announcement, her point of analysis seems to take flight primarily from the Hegelian premise that in order to achieve freedom the self-conscious human being must risk its life. This risk, according to Hegel, takes place in a life-and-death struggle among self-conscious centers of activity. It reaches its first equilibrium in the master/slave relation. Then, the process of liberation for the enslaved or subjugated consciousness involves for Hegel a self-overcoming; "Not a static sense of 'to be', but a dynamic Hegelian sense of 'to have become,' is involved in woman's escaping her fate as 'the other,'" says de Beauvoir.

To become a subject, implies de Beauvoir, means to make one's liberty actual through struggle with an 'other' self-consciousness. At the end of her Introduction (p. xxxiii) and later (p. 56) de Beauvoir places this struggle on a moral level. We have to understand what she means by "moral" here. I suggest she means that the fundamental demand placed on every human being is that of achieving some kind of autonomy or "authenticity" as she calls it. This fundamental demand is a moral demand. de Beauvoir's concept of "authenticity" includes self-conscious self-definition. What does this mean? When one is faced with the concrete challenge, which for woman is often frightening, that one reject the status of being made over into a thing by other human beings, one is able to take up the struggle to a definition of oneself as subject. The first part of this process consists of taking the step in self-consciousness away from being made into 'the other' and define ourselves as "we." Assume a subjective stance as subject, not comply with the imposed self-definition as other. de Beauvoir seems to be saying that we 'become human' only by first becoming aware of our subjugated status, and then negating it. Only by first making this transition out of the status of the other, can we as woman define ourselves as fully human, i.e., as subject. This becoming is fundamentally Hegelian in the sense that the "middle stage" of alienation as 'the other' has to be struggled through and overcome before the moral resolution of woman's dilemma is meaningful. Put concretely, woman must realize her status as alien 'other' before she can reject it, and put herself together as a self-conscious subject. Both the definition of woman as 'other' and her overcoming of this 'otherness' take place on a level which comprises each of these forementioned levels, but is more basic than any of them.

(4) Criticism

This seizure of liberty in the form of self-definition appears to take place in consciousness, or at least primarily in consciousness. It appears to be excessively abstract and vague, both in the analysis of the source of woman's oppression, and in the prescription for the overcoming of the oppression. de Beauvoir herself has said, if she were to do over The Second Sex she would pay more attention to the material factor. Her comment implies a critique from a Marxist viewpoint. Consider this:

> "Consciousness does not determine life, but life determines consciousness." (K. Marx, The German Ideology)

A Marxist analysis might look at the situation this way: Although sexist oppression of women has always existed, different forms of socio-economic organization which we could call "property-relations" have always supported that oppression. Or, we could say, the forms in which property is held at different periods of history have upheld and preserved the oppression of women in different ways. Each form of oppression of women was appropriate to the peculiar kinds of property relations in a given society. That is why the oppression of women under feudalism, where women are literally bought and sold, differes from the oppression of women under capitalism, where woman is isolated and "privatized" in her labor in the ome. Sexism has always existed, but its form differs according to the type of social-economic organization in a particular society. Even if we don't know the original cause of sexist oppression (de Beauvoir criticizes Engel's analysis for failing to give a reason for the universal oppression of women), we can find the functional causes of sexist oppression in any given society, e.g., in our own capitalist society in the U.S. or in the feudal society of Saudi Arabia. This implies a distinction between the 'original cause' of women's oppression and various 'functional causes.' We can't find a philosophical basis for overcoming our oppression, this argument goes, until we perceive the 'functional causes,' i.e., until we find the way structures in our own society preserve the particular form of sexism appropriate to capitalism. (E.g., lip service is paid to educating women, but then their skills are underutilized in the economy as a whole, under capitalism. Capitalism needs a reserve labor force, not wholly integrated into the economy, to function. Women do this for capitalism. That is why, in theory, women are educable, but in practice they are forced down to the bottom of the labor market.) So, this argument does, de Beauvoir focuses on the 'original cause' which she sees as alienation of woman as 'the other.' But this is inadequate. Even if we grant, with the critics of socialism, that socialism has not eradicated sexism, we can still argue, claims a Marxist analysis, that the abolition of capitalism is a necessary if not a sufficient condition for eliminating sexist oppression. Therefore, to speak of "achieving authenticity" without overcoming woman's oppression in the concrete social and economic structures of our society, is ideal or utopian. It implies that we can change these concrete economic and social relationships in which we live by first changing our consciousness and then, e.g., abolishing economic castes. de Beauvoir has put the analysis and the cure backwards.

(5) Another Criticism

de Beauvoir's analysis implies that liberty occurs when one seizes one's autonomy through self-defined projects. But she gives no concrete starting point for the struggle she claims is necessary. If this struggle is fundamentally economic, or legal, or fundamentally sexual, then we as women could take up the struggle at its most crucial level. We could, for example, raise ourselves up economically and form trade unions, or abolish legal discrimination if that's the basic trouble ... or reject psychological or sexual relations with men. According to de Beauvoir, however, all of these levels are equally important and therefore none of these is the crucial point for struggle. She does not locate the "weakest link" in the chain of oppressions defining woman as 'the other.' Therefore, the basis for a programme of action is fundamentally lacking. Since she herself says that "transcendence" consists of freely choosing certain active "projects," she simultaneously prescribes programs and fails to give a direction.

(6) A Basis for Vindication?

If de Beauvoir is right in her analysis, as interpreted here primarily from her introduction, then she can reply to criticisms (5) and (6), that first, aiming primarily at the 'functional causes' of women's oppression will yield only a partial liberation because we have neglected the 'original cause,' and second, that the struggle to overcome oppression must proceed simultaneously on each level mentioned in section (2). If the struggle we wage is less than inclusive of each of these levels, she could argue, 'liberation' of women will be less than inclusive, and therefore inauthentic.

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APPENDIX II

Processes Involved in Sex Role Learning

Introduction

Most behavioral scientists define socialization as the process by which children come to have the values, attitudes and behaviors of the parent generation. With regard to sex roles, socialization refers to the process in which children learn the sex-appropriate characteristics of the society in which they live. This definition has two implications. First, in order to understand what the children are learning, one must examine the cultural and societal context of both the parent generation and the child generation as well as the historical changes that occur over the life span. Second, socialization (thus defined) is a conservative function by which a child changes in order to perpetuate societal stability and the status quo. The pervasiveness of sex discrimination in our society the, is perpetuated and continually recreated--at least in part--by sex-role socialization. Since behavioral scientists have been socialized into our society, the assumptions which underlie their work often reflect its values. This creates a vicious cycle in which the traditional social science paradigms of sex-role socialization help maintain public stereotypes and lend an air of legitimacy to them (Abramowitz, Abramowitz, Jackson and Gomes, 1973; Bart, 1971; Carlson and Carlson, 1960; Wortis, 1971).

One focus of this review of literature on sex-role socialization will be to determine if the existing theories and research are or can be change oriented. This will involve an examination of the assumptions, structure, and methodologies of this body of literature.

The traditional theoretical and empirical work on the concept of sex-role socialization assumes that masculinity/femininity (the resulting personality configuration of sex-role socialization) consists of universal, stable traits; that masculinity/femininity is a unidimensional, bipolar, additive and negatively correlated concept (masculinity and femininity are competitive traits in the individual); that like-sex-typing results in an appropriate, ideal, and mature way of functioning; that the observed differences between the sexes are reflected in biological sex differences (differences being more important, of course, than similarities); that "human" and "male" are synonomous--female being the "other" or "object" and seen only in relation to the male; and that the available measures of masculinity/femininity asses a psychometrically coherent and meaningful dimension of personality (Constantinople, 1973; Harrison, 1974; Pleck, 1975; Tresemer, in press).

Most of the work on sex-role socialization can be said to follow two traditions which reflect the basic orientation of the work. Riegel (1972) has defined these positions as "capitalistic" and "merchantilistic." The "capitalistic" orientation employs a continuous growth model to describe and explain human behavior. Research with this orientation have established purportedly value-free, objective standards against which individual development can be compared. The ideal is the white, middle-age, middle-class male and "As with the GNP, the ideal is accumulation" (Harris, 1974). Those people who cannot possibly accumulate the characteristics of the ideal (e.g., women, minority groups, youth, the aged) necessarily are negatively evaluated. This orientation results in research which is strikingly shallow in its attempts to describe sex-role development and the resulting "masculinity" or "femininity" of a person is reported in terms of a single score. Any variability, if not already obscured by this method, appears as experimental error, individual pathology, or merely statistical noise.

The "merchantilistic" orientation does not use a single standard against which to compare individuals and thus, allows the scientist to deal individually with various subgroups and subcultures. For example, after Rousseau and Pestalozzi, attention was given to educational methods that were particularly tailored for the child (the child was no longer seen as a miniature adult). Piaget (1970) has taken this approach to its ultimate extreme by postulating stages of development which are characterized as qualitatively different from each other, yet not in competition with each other. This is potentially a positive step in that it allows for variability. However, given the historical and cultural context in which true pluralism has yet to be experienced, this orientation promotes the establishment of classes and castes and again, negatively values that which is different.

As we have already mentioned, the methodologies used in sex-role research are severely restricted by the assumptions, biases, and orientations of social scientists (Bronfenbrenner, 1973). The reliance of research on significance testing epitomizes the emphasis on differences and polarities. Tests are constructed so that they maximize their ability to differentiate men from women. The result is an abstract, ideal and stereotyped view of men and women which is divorced from reality. Subjects of an experiment become objects when assigned a score on an m-f measure--their subjective experience is considered unscientific. Due to the restricted nature of popular methodologies, one gets no feeling for the complex mechanisms which underlie a particular action or thought.

We examine all of these issues--assumptions, orientation, methodology, and implication for change--in relation to specific theories of sex-role socialization and the resulting empirical work. For each theory we summarize the basic propositions, enumerate the assumptions, analyze the historical-cultural context from which it came and in which it is operating, and spell out the methodologies represented in the empirical work. We criticize each theory as to how it helps or hinders progress toward the elimination of sex discrimination in society. Following this, we examine the body of literature on masculinity-femininity (the result of sex-role socialization) and that on the educational system as a socialization agent, for generalizability, salient variables, and implications for application to real life. Finally, we make a concluding statement summarizing the state of the literature and suggest how future work could be more responsive to the call for change.

Theories of Sex-Role Development

Psychoanalytic model

The psychoanalytic model of sex-role socialization is of primary concern due to the longlasting influences it has had on subsequent conceptualizations of this phenomenon. Psychoanalytic theory grew out of the Victorian society Freud practiced in, and he saw sexuality as the key issue that underlay all forms of adjustment and maladjustment. For the psychoanalysts the presence of maleness or femaleness was a prerequisite to having a sense of personal identity (Colley, 1959). It was also assumed that "female people" did not exist as a distinguishable entity until puberty and that the male organ was the one acknowledged by both sexes as the "true" and superior genital. Concerns over castration and the penis (or lack of it) initially establish the superiority of men and boys. Social and cultural constraints that limit a woman's ability to develop her full potential serve only as reinforcers for the innate difference between the sexes.

According to the classical psychoanalytic model of personality development, discrimination against and devaluation of females begin at birth, with the mother herself being guilty of prejudice against her own daughter for not having been born a boy. This discrimination supposedly occurs because the mother has a repressed unconscious desire for a penis, which has been translated into the more realistic and socially acceptable wish for a baby. Specifically the first mother-infant dynamic is, "... if it is a baby boy the reality offered will give even greater satisfaction as it will coincide still more pertinently with the unrecognized wish" (Mitchell, 1974, p. 8).

The female Oedipal complex originates in the little girl's discovery (crucially between the ages of three and five) that she is "missing a penis," that she has been denied the superior organ which is so much better suited to sexual gratification than her inferior clitoris. In anger over this mutilation, the girl blames the mother for her inferior condition and turns to the father as a love object in the hope that he will compensate her for her loss. Since the father cannot really provide the girl with the lost penis, her unconscious substitutes the wish for a baby for the wish for a penis. Freud believed that the girl's penis envy is never fully resolved, but remains an important motivating force throughout a woman's life, often requiring the pursuit of intellectual professions as a form of sublimation. Girls have difficulty with super-ego formation in part because they do not fear castration (it is a FAIT ACCOMPLI). Extrapolating from this, it has been suggested that external factors such as education, intimidation, and fear of love withdrawal must be invoked to socialize their behavior. This suggests that females are inferior in that they are dependent on others for control and self-definition.

The female Oedipal complex leads to sex-role identification in two ways; since the girl wants a baby from the father, this entails being loved by him. In an effort to achieve this, the girl identifies with his original love object: the mother. The mother is also an important source of love to the girl and she is afraid of losing this love through the mother's jealous rage over her daughter taking the man (husband-father) away. This further pushes the girl to adopt the mother's behaviors and values in an effort to placate the angered woman. There is little empirical evidence of the female Oedipus complex or penis envy, "and even less that its motivational source lies in the child" (Sherman, 1971, p. 76). There is evidence, however, that women prefer the male sex role which derives from culturally imposed status differentials between the sexes (Broverman, et al., 1970; Steinmann, 1974).

A second disconfirmed tenet of psychoanalytic theory of female development is the belief that in order for a woman to be fully mature she has to give up her masculine attachment to the clitoris, which has been her primary source of sexual stimulation during childhood. Freud believed that only vaginal orgasm signified true womanhood, i.e., that female sexuality is masculine until puberty. Masters and Johnson (1966) have shown that such a differentiation is unwarranted since orgasmic response involves the entire pelvic region regardless of the area of stimulation. This evidence, and similar disconfirmation of Freud's views of embryology and female anatomy calls into question the entire panoply of psychoanalytic beliefs about female sexuality (Sherfey, 1972).

Freud also supported the notion that fetal development passed through a constitutional bisexual stage and the transition for the girl from clitoral (i.e., masculine) sexuality to vaginal sexuality was especially difficult (Chassequet-Smirgel, 1970). Yet his concept of constitutional bisexuality has not been supported by biological and endocrinological research (Sherfey, 1972). In fact, in the absence of male hormonal (androgen) influences, reproductive organs in mammalian embryos develop into female structures regardless of the chromosomal sex pattern. Females, not males as Freud believed, sexually develop in a straight line (Sherfey, 1972).

According to psychoanalytic theory, the phrase "female sexuality" is a contradiction in terms. For psychoanalysis, sexuality (called libido) is always masculine. Orgasm belongs to the male, females experiencing only passive receptive gratification (Deutsch, in Chassequet-Smirgel, 1970). Lampl de Groot claims that women do not love, but are loved; that women who love men are masculine; and that good mothers are frigid wives (Chassequet-Smirgel, 1970). It seems from this that a "normal" woman is a frigid woman. This position is an extreme manifestation of the phallocentrism of the Freudian conception of feminine psychology, but it illustrates the rationalization of female-inferior traits and represents the myths and misinformation that have become firmly entrenched in popular thinking in societal institutions and academic disciplines.

Since Freud, many psychoanalysts have initiated reinterpretations of some of the theory's basic tenets. Karen Horney (Miller, 1973) implored the members of her profession to free their minds from a masculine mode of thought and not to construe a sense of being disadvantaged as a rationalization of penis envy. Clara Thompson (Miller, 1973) agreed with this sentiment. Unlike Deutsch (Chassequet-Smirgel, 1970), Horney saw masculine envy as more capable of successful sublimation than penis envy and as important for setting up cultural values. Horney recognized the social subordination of women, but only as reinforcing unconscious motives for "flight" from womanhood. This assumes that femininity is central to the personal identity of a woman and that creative acts of sublimation deny that femininity. Melanie Klein (Chassequet-Smirgel, 1970) goes even further than Horney by claiming that the girl does not want a penis for herself, but wants it libidinally. Penis envy is secondary to fears of her own femininity. And Ernest Jones (Chassequet-Smirgel, 1970) goes the farthest by stating that a woman is not "un homme manque"--that little girls are more feminine than masculine and that they are concerned with the inside of their bodies.

Yankelovich and Barrett (1970) criticize the psychoanalytic concept of instinct from an interactionist perspective. They propose the concept of "developmentals"--the products of the interaction between evolution and culture which depend on critical life experiences and inherent maturational factors. Frieda Fromm-Riechman (Miller, 1973) puts appropriate emphasis on culture, applying it directly to women. She says that little value is placedon procreation in our cultures; that men have an unconscious fear and envy of women's maternal ability; and that therefore there is a need for women to conceal the positive significance of their sex organs. Thus, cultural, sexual and psychological variables all influence the nature of female sexuality.

Mary Jane Sherfey (1972) offers a unique twist to the anatomy-as-destiny theme. Using physiological and anthropological evidence, she suggests that women were once sexually insatiable and that in order to "civilize" humankind, this sexuality had to be actively and forcefully suppressed. Over many years, this suppression had become neurotic repression which brought to Freud many of the cases upon which he built his theories. Sherfey also suggests that many of the cases of frigidity are not psychological, but due to medical disorders (e.g., obstetrical damage) which are often overlooked by physicians and pyschiatrists. This throws doubt on much of the clinically derived theories about female sexuality.

The psychoanalysts--both those who remain traditional and those who have engaged in some form of reinterpretation--regard the male as the prototype of humanity (Doherty, 1973). The female is identified only with her body and is understood only in relation to the male. Psychoanalysts assume the biologically based definition of personality dynamics. Although the male is held up as an ideal, psychoanalysis cannot be described as having a "capitalistic" orientation. Women were obviously regarded as a worthwhile group to study, although the proponents of the field had much difficulty accounting for feminine psychology. They were (are) restricted due to the nature of their biases and misconceptions. Women were a special, negatively valued subgroup. Psychoanalysis, unlike capitalistically oriented psychology, does have a dynamic conception of personality development, but this conception represents for the most part a pathological population and is thus limited in its application to general human concerns. Methodologically, psychoanalysis is one of the few disciplines in psychology that positively sanctions case study. If it were not for the specialized population and the expectations (for certain responses) of the analysts, meaningful information different from that collected by strictly additive trait approaches could be gained about the sex-role development.

Erikson (1963, 1968) also uses the male adult as a model for his theory. For this reason, it is difficult to apply his eight stages of development to women, although it has been tried (Schaef, n.d.). As in traditional psychoanalytic theory there is the virtual identification of woman with mother.

> Men, of course, have shared and taken care of some of the concerns for which women stand: each sex can transcend itself to feel and to represent the concerns of the other. For even as real women harbor a legitimate as well as a compensatory masculinity, so real men can partake of motherliness--if permitted to do so by powerful mores. (Erikson, 1968, p. 285-286)

As Doherty (1973) points out, the word femininity would be substituted for "motherliness" if such an identification did not occur. Erikson's statement illustrates a certain ambivalence; i.e., on one hand, he is commenting on the legitimacy of transcending sex roles; i.e., on the other hand, one can see that he is still firmly embedded in the masculinity-femininity polarity in which an individual's sex role is more important than the person. Erikson does however offer an astute comment about the pathological basis of psychoanalysis when he says (Erikson, 1963):

> We have only begun to study the combination of elements which, in a given case, would have resulted in an interesting variation of, rather than a neurotic deviation from, human functioning. We have studied variations less than we have studied deviations... (p. 414).

Cognitive-developmental model

> In general, cognitive theory: postulates a general cognitive mechanism as the initial step in the chain of events leading from the stimulus to the response. The assumption behind cognitive theory is that stimuli are received and processed to extract the information that they contain. This information is in some way integrated into a cognitive representation of the environment in which the individual himself (sic) is represented. The cognitive representation might alternatively be called a belief about the content of the environment. (Baldwin, 1969, p. 326)

Kohlberg (1969) claims that the following assumptions are shared by cognitive-developmental theories.

1. Development involves transformations of cognitive structures.

2. Development is the result of processes of interaction between the structure of the organism and the structure of the environment.

3. Cognitive structures are structures of action (upon objects).

4. Direction of development is toward equilibrium.

5. There is a single concept of self in a single social world.

Additionally, stage theories have the following characteristics:

1. The sequence of stages is invariant.

2. Each stage forms a structured whole and is qualitatively different from other stages.

3. Stages are hierarchically integrated.

4. Succeeding stages restructure earlier ones.

Kohlberg's (1966) cognitive-developmental explanation of sex-role socialization accounts for sexual identity as "a motivated adaptation to physical social reality and...the need to preserve a stable and positive self image" (p. 88). Unlike psychoanalytic theory (and social learning theory), he proposes that basic sexual identity comes prior to any parental identification or cultural reinforcement. Preferential attachment ot the same-sex parent depends on stable gender identity, adoption of sex-appropriate values, and on the formation of abstract cognitive categories of likeness (e.g., "we females" or "we males").

These basic self categorizations determine and organize sex role attitudes and values, regardless of cultural or familial variations in sex-role definition. Same-sex parent identification serves only to define "masculine" or "feminine" roles more individualistically and involves conforming to parental expectations. The hypothesis that the reinforcement value of adults is a function of level of sex-role identification in children has been tested and supported by Epstein and Liverant (1963).

Sex role stereotypes arise from the child's understanding of body differences and in "visible differences in the sex assignment of social roles" (Kohlberg, 1966, p. 165). The male role eventually acquires superior valuation, but not through concerns over genitalia as in psychoanalytic theory. It is society's attribution of power, prestige, and competence to the male role that determines this superior valuation on the part of both sexes.

Competence plays a crucial role in Kohlberg's (1969) view of sex-role socialization. Power as a "role-appropriate form of competence" determines whether or not identification occurs, so that, for example, a dominating mother will not be imitated since she is not displaying role appropriate behavior. As forms of competence are discriminated from the original age-size distinction (parents are bigger, older, wiser, and children are the opposite) they are increasingly sex typed. Age and size are no longer the critical determinants of a valued position. Competence for girls comes to be defined in terms of attractiveness and being "nice," although between the ages of 4 to 7 both sexes hold the father up as a model since he is perceived as smarter, knowing how to do things better, and controlling the economic stability of the family. Thus, both identification and valuation come, in part, from the child's understanding of competence.

Intelligence, too, plays an important part in sex-role development. Kohlberg and Zigler (1967) found significant IQ effects in performance on seven tests of sex-role attitudes for children 4-8 years old. They found that sex-role developmental trends depended more on mental age than chronological age. For example, bright boys shifted from a preference for adult females to a preference for adult males at about age four. This shift occurred for average boys at about age six. Kohlberg (1969) maintains that this is clear evidence that sex-role age developmental trends are mediated by cognitive development.

To summarize, identification with like-sex figures, responsiveness to social reinforcement, imitation, and modelling occur only after masculinity-femininity values are acquired. This developmental trend is determined by the child's level of cognitive maturity as explicated by Piaget. The process of sex-role socialization proceeds in stages of qualitatively different thought processes; growth is determined both by internal cognitive structures and environmental events which force accommodation of these structures to disparate environmental elements. However, it is the child's experiencing of the environment which is important; parents play only a minimal role.

Like most theoretical work on sex roles, the cognitive-developmental model assumes universality, stability, polarity, the appropriateness of like-sex-typing, and the importance of biological differences for all differences between the sexes in our society. Additionally, it is assumed that cognitive structures within the individual are the crucial factors in development. Although purporting to be an interactional theory, it blatantly lacks consideration of much empirical evidence attesting to the fact that parental and environmental influences occur much earlier than the development of a consistent gender identity (Bower, 1966). This evidence does not imply that the child is a mere passive recipient of social training, but it does show that any interactionist point of view cannot ignore so consistently the role of the environment. The fact that children believe that males are physically more powerful and more invulnerable than females does not occur in a cultural or environmental vacuum.

Kohlberg's (1969) assertions in applying his theory of moral development to different spheres of life clearly illustrate the strong effect of societal bias on his science. Similarly Kohlberg bases his model of sex-role socialization on a definition of sex-role maturity that comes directly out of the white, male, middle class. The importance he assigns to competence in his model, in conjunction with his weak definition of feminine competence as attractiveness and being nice indicates how this model, like the psychoanalytic one, is phallocentric. It also reflects the theory's inability to account for the sex identification of girls. If both sexes highly value power and competence, yet associate them only with the male role, then it seems that girls, too, would identify with the masculine role. Kohlberg (1966) gives only a very cursory and unsatisfactory explanation of why this does not occur.

This theory can be seen as an outgrowth of what Riegel (1972) calls the "merchantilistic" orientation of psychology which, influenced by the societal condition of distinct classes (with their own duties and privileges), appreciates multicultural and multigenerational differences. It thus sees the conception of the child's thought as qualitatively different from adult thought, rather than as a quantitative piecemeal accumulation of information (as the social learning theorist would have it). Since stages are ideal-typological constructs which represent different psychological organizations at different points in time, qualitative changes can be regarded as predictable and cumulative (Kohlberg, 1969). As with Kohlberg's theory of moral development, this type of abstract categorization of sex-role development does not require a relationship between abstract cognitive processes and concrete action (Kurtines and Grief, 1974). Theoretically, children in different stages can behave the same, but have different types of reasoning; and children in the same stage can behave differently while using the same type of reasoning. Thus preference for same or opposite sex adults comes and goes at different levels, but supposedly due to different cognitive processes. However, the only exploration of these differences has been in terms of IQ correlations. There have been no other criterion studies to validate the process and what lies behind these preferences other than the very amorphous concept of cognition.

It seems as if methodology is lagging behind the theoretical propostions. Kohlberg (1969) claims that once structural-developmental change has been assessed by more cognitive methods it will be possible to define structural-developmental changes in situational behavior. Continuity comes through transformations; the direction of development is toward equilibrium. What is potentially a change oriented theory (i.e., an appreciation of qualitative differences) is reduced again to a search for underlying stability. The emphasis on equilibrium and stabilized maturity makes the model incapable of focusing on change--

historically, culturally, and personally. Kohlberg's model of sex role socialization can be viewed as a model of exploitation in which children first learn the age-size discrimination, associate "old-big" with power, and then associate "big-power" with maleness. Indeed, the predisposition for discrimination and a polar view of the world is inculcated early in the life of children.

Social learning model

Social learning theory assumes that all human behavior is learned in a piecemeal fashion. A comprehensive review of this literature can be found in Mischel (1970). This theory differs from Kohlberg's in that parents are important primarily as dispensers of reinforcement and as models. Three conceptual schemas fit into the social learning paradigm: observational learning, role taking, and reinforcement.

Observational learning (Bandura and Walters, 1963) stresses the importance of imitation. A child learns proper behavior, values, and attitudes by observing those around her and then imitating them. Previous reinforcement histories and level of emotional arousal determine when and to what extent this learning takes place. Identification occurs because of the tendency of people to reproduce the actions, attitudes and emotional responses exhibited by real-life or symbolized models. No direct reinforcement has to occur for observational learning to take place.

In the role playing and role taking schema a child interacts with other people and depending on the frequency and diversity of this interaction, acquires a more or less accurate view of the role of the "other". This in turn guides her own behavior, teaching her how to elicit certain responses. Nurturance, power and the degree of explanation given by parents (especially the mother figure) affect the degree to which the child becomes adequate in role playing and role taking. Self-other contingencies merge to form a cohesive self image and an image of the other as a consistent role performer.

The reinforcement schema stems directly from learning theory and deals with the effect of experiences on behavior. Patterns of behavior are increased, shaped, and maintained through reinforcement. Thus, in all three schemas, sex-role socialization occurs through direct interaction with the environment and little credit is given to the child herself.

Bell (1968) has accurately criticized the major assumption of this theory: that parents shape their child while she passively receives the information about her culture. He stipulates that parents do not have fixed techniques for socialization, but the elements in the parents' repertoire that are used require both cultural pressures and active stimulation from the child. Like the cognitive-developmentalists, Bell sees the child as coming into the situation with something, not as a tabula rasa. However, the cognitive-developmentalists speak in terms of cognitive structures, while Bell assumes that there are innate temperamental and thus behavioral characteristics to which the parent responds.

Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) thoroughly reviewed the social learning literature and then offered a variety of criticisms of the model as the only method of sex-role socialization. They argued that a child cannot acquire the detail of sex appropriate behaviors, attitudes and values merely through direct reinforcement and punishment. In fact, reinforcement might be responsible for cross-sex typing, as illustrated in the following study. Meyer and Sobieszek (1972) studied the reactions of adults to video tapes of sex-neutral children (i.e., their appearance was not sex typed). Vigorous activity was more likely to be labeled "aggressive" if the viewers were told the child was a girl than if the viewers were told it was a boy. The principle of perceptual adaptation level predicts that if a child is behaving appropriately the behavior will go unnoticed. If, however, the behavior is not expected (e.g., a boy being helpful and cooperative) it will be noticed and more likely to be reinforced.

Other criticisms center around the impact of observational learning (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974). Children do not resemble the same-sex parent in their behavior, and children's sex-typed behavior does not closely resemble adult sex-typed behavior. Thus, although boys observe their fathers interacting with both sexes, they prefer to play only with boys. Additionally, children under six or seven do not choose same-sex figures to model, but choose randomly. Since behavior is clearly sex-typed by this age, the modelling explanation seems weak. There is evidence that adolescents and adults imitate same sex models "when the fact of shared sex is relevant to the situation" (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974, p. 290), but selective imitation is based on the assumption that one sex is a better model for a certain skill. This implies a prior notion of sex typing and has not been observed before the age of 10. This gives some indirect support for Kohlberg's conception of sex role development, but still does not explain where the sex-typing comes from.

Studies on the effect of parental nurturance and dominance also produce equivocal results. Nurturance and dominance are said to enhance the effect of modelling. Thus, both sexes should imitate the mother since she is nurturant and both should imitate the father because he is dominant. Heilbrun (1965) tries to account for this paradox by saying that the father (because of the father's first identification with his mother) is both instrumental and expressive. He provides an instrumental model for sons and an expressive model for daughters. Using an adjective checklist (Gough and Heilbrun, 1965) it was found that fathers were instrumental models for sons, but the results for girls were equivocal. Heilbrun (1965) uses these data to criticize the assumption that parents and other salient models are perceived as homogeneous with regard to the cluster of characteristics they exhibit--fathers are instrumental, mothers are expressive. When one variable is singled out as important (father or mother, nurturance or power, independence, dependence, or aggression) the nature of the whole system in which the child is developing is obscured (Bezdek and Strodtbeck, 1970). (See also the discussion of Rychlak and Legerski (1967) and Johnson (1963, 1975) below.) Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) express this problem as follows:

> Elements of an adult's behavior are usually part of a nested set of organized action sequences (i.e., "plans"). Judging by the data we collect about people at different ages, researchers implicitly assume that a young child's behavior is less so (p. 359).

A related problem is that if boys initially imitate their mothers and then switch to imitating male models (Heilbrun, 1965; Lynn, 1969), then they should be less sex typed than girls, at least during preschool years. This has not been the case. Girls are less sex-typed at this age level (Brown, 1958; Nadelman, 1970).

Finally, social learning theorists use the distinction between acquisition and performance to explain why children display sex appropriate behaviors. Although they observe adults of both sexes, they are reinforced when displaying appropriate behavior and punished for displaying inappropriate behavior. However, performance is dependent on other subtleties of the environment (which are actually not so subtle) which the social learning application of the acquisition/performance distinction does not consider. For example, both sexes can observe the father doing home repairs. Only boys, however, are given a set of toy tools, girls are not given the opportunity to explore this kind of activity.

In addition to the assumptions about the nature of masculinity/femininity (mentioned in the introduction of this section), social learning theorists assume that sex roles are learned piecemeal and cumulatively. Social learning theory is distinctly a reflection of what Riegel (1972) calls the "capitalistic" orientation of psychology which utilizes a continuous growth model of development. The aim of socialization agents through social learning techniques is to mold as many people as possible into the standards defined by a narrow group--the white, middle-class male. Depending on the effectiveness of the techniques used for socialization, a child will either have the values of the parent generation or will be inadequately socialized. There is no provision for a new generation to acquire values which are systematically different from those held by the parents. Although possibilities exist for resocialization via the same techniques, the literature deals only with the resocialization of deviant groups (e.g., prisoners) into the mainstream of society. This represents the most conservative interpretation of the definition of socialization mentioned at the beginning of this section. There is no provision for change. Sex-appropriate behavior is valued, the problem is to discover how the child gets to the point of adopting those behaviors.

Methodologically, it is much easier to generate support for social learning theory than for either psychoanalytic or cognitive-developmental theory. Quantification of behavior either from naturalistic observation or laboratory experiments derives naturally from the assumptions of a cumulative growth model and the tendency to isolate rather than to integrate variables. But a complete picture of the developmental process is obscured by the different empirical techniques used with children of different ages (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974). Naturalistic observations are common at earlier ages, but become more difficult as the child gets older. Researchers then turn to laboratory experiments. Unfortunately, the data from these two approaches are not comparable. The picture is even further obscured by the heavy reliance on significance testing, which diminishes the importance of observed similarities (see introduction for a more thorough discussion of this problem), there is a preference for rejecting the null hypothesis--this is related to still another problem that develops because most work on sex-role socialization is done within sex groupings, not between females and males. There seems to be an assumption that if we know what makes some boys more masculine than other boys, we will know what makes most boys more masculine than most girls (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974).

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APPENDIX III

We have found that the following statistics can be used effectively in the classroom to remind students of the actual situation of women in the workplace.

MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS OF EMPLOYED WOMEN

	1900	1940	1974
Professional and technical	8.1%	12.8%	14.9%
Managers and administrators	7.3	4.5	5.2
Clerical and sales	8.2	28.8	41.7
Craft workers	1.5	1.1	1.5
Operatives	23.8	19.5	13.0
Nonfarm laborers	2.6	1.1	1.1
Service workers	35.5	29.4	21.4
Private household	28.8	18.1	3.9
Other service	6.7	11.3	17.5
Farm workers	13.1	2.8	1.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: *Historical Statistics of the United States; 1975 Handbook on Women Workers.*

PERCENTAGE FEMALE IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, 1973

Total labor force	38.4
Professional and technical	40.0
Computer specialists	19.5
Librarians	82.1
Physicians	12.2
Registered nurses	97.8
Teachers, college and university	27.1
Teachers, elementary school	84.5
Managers and administrators	18.4
Sales workers	41.4
Insurance agents	12.9
Sales clerks, retail trade	69.0
Clerical workers	76.6
Bookkeepers	88.3
Computer operators	40.3
Keypunch operators	90.9
Postal clerks	26.9
Secretaries	99.1
Shipping clerks	14.4
Telephone operators	95.9
Craft workers	4.1
Operatives	31.4
Sewers and stitchers	95.5
Nonfarm laborers	6.9
Service workers	63.0
Private household	98.3
Other	58.1
Farmworkers	17.0

SOURCE: *1975 Handbook on Women Workers.*

MEDIAN TOTAL MONEY INCOME OF MALES AND FEMALES[a]

Year	All Income Recipients			% Full-Time[b]		Full-Time Workers		
	Male	Female	F/M	Male	Female	Male	Female	F/M
1947	$2230	$1027	.46	--	--	--	--	--
1950	2570	953	.37	--	--	--	--	--
1955	3358	1120	.33	63.1	31.1	$ 4246	$2734	.64
1960	4081	1262	.31	58.3	28.3	5435	3296	.60
1965	4824	1564	.32	59.8	29.3	6479	3883	.60
1970	6670	2237	.34	56.6	30.0	9184	5440	.59
1974	8379	3079	.37	55.9	30.4	12152	6957	.57

[a] Income in current prices of civilians 14 years or older.

[b] Year-round full-time workers,--i.e., those working at least 35 hours per week and 50 weeks per year.

SOURCES: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-60, annual issues.

USUAL WEEKLY EARNINGS OF FULL-TIME MEN AND WOMEN WORKERS, 25-54 YEARS OF AGE, BY OCCUPATION, MAY 1974

	Women	Men	Ratio of Women's to Men's Earnings
Professional and technical	$189	$261	.72
Managers and administrators	165	274	.60
Sales	94	226	.42
Clerical	126	193	.65
Operatives	108	168	.64
All occupations	134	223	.60

SOURCE: Deborah P. Klein, "Women in the Labor Force: The Middle Years," U.S. Department of Labor, *Monthly Labor Review* (November 1975), p. 13.

Women's Studies Curriculum Series

Evaluation

Both the National Endowment for the Humanities and the designers of Women's Studies Curriculum Series need your evaluation of these materials. Please take a few mintues to answer the following questions. Use a separate evaluation form for each course you are evaluating.

Return to: NEH Core Course Evaluation
Women's Studies Program
The University of Michigan
1058 L.S.A. Bldg.
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109

1. Name of course you are evaluating:

_____ Women and Identity
_____ Women's Art and Culture
_____ A Cross Cultural Study of Women
_____ New Woman, New World: The American Experience

2. Information on how you used this course:

Name of course at your institution in which you used the curricular materials ____________________

Semester and year ____________________

Level of course (fr/soph/jr/sr) ____________________

Enrollment ____________________

Brief description of course ____________________

____

3. Please indicate what portion of NEH Core Course you used:

_____ The entire course
_____ 3/4 of the materials
_____ 1/2 of the materials
_____ other

4. Indicate which parts of the course were most useful to you. Mark 1 (extremely useful); 2 (useful); 3 (not useful); 4 (not applicable). Annotate your numeric evaluation, if you wish.

   Bibliographic materials __________

   Lecture Outlines __________________

   Introductory explanations ________

   Questions for Discussion _________

   Suggested Assignments ____________

   Other Comments?

5. Evaluate the quality of the materials you used. 1 (High quality); 2 (Medium); 3 (Low); 4 (Not applicable).

   Bibliographic materials __________

   Lecture Outline____________________

   Introductory explanations ________

   Questions for Discussion _________

   Suggested Assignments ____________

6. What other materials do you think should be included in a course on this topic? What materials might have been excluded?

7. Any other general evaluative comments or suggestions?

8. Nature of your institution.

Does your institution have a Women's Studies Program? _____
If yes, briefly describe:

Is your institution a:

_____ Community College

_____ 4-year College

_____ University

_____ Public

_____ Private

How many students? (Approximately) ____________________________

9. Do you think the courses in the Women's Studies Curriculum Series should be made available as textbooks for students to use?

10. (Optional): Your name______________________________

Title ______________________________

Institutional Address ____________________

____

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